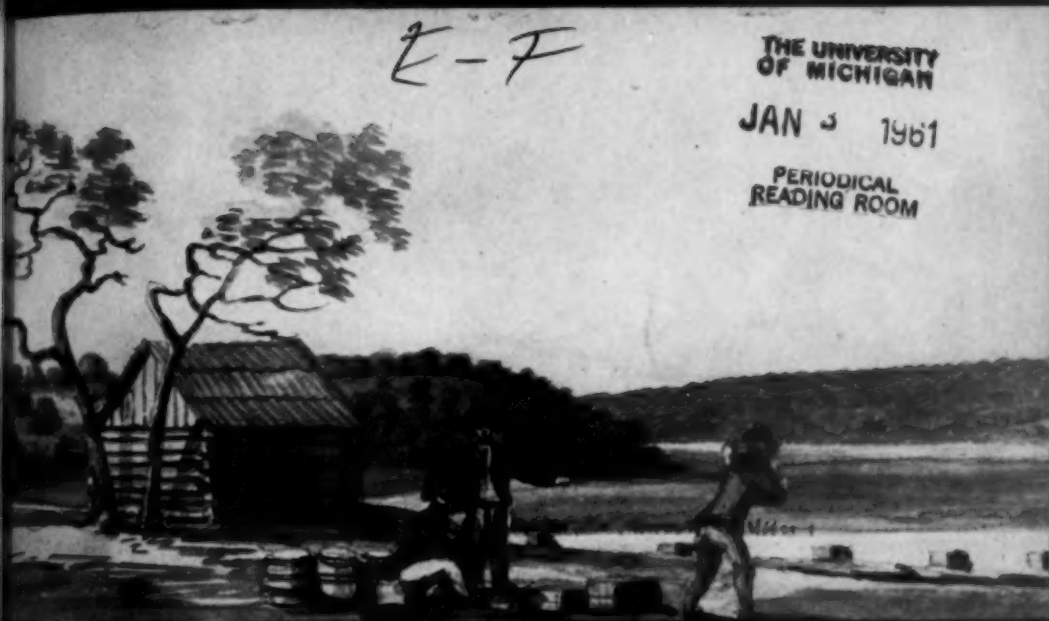


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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 55

DECEMBER, 1960

Number 4

GEORGE CALVERT: HIS YORKSHIRE BOYHOOD*

By JAMES W. FOSTER

"I LOVE Richmondshire with all my heart and it warms me when you talk of it, as cold a country as it is," wrote Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, from London to a fellow Yorkshireman, Sir Thomas Wentworth.¹ Characteristic of the writer was this tribute to the land of his birth, a countryside of no small charm, abruptly steep in the west but for the most part gently rolling, watered by numerous streams and generally well cultivated. Among the many villages of stone and brick there is but one town. Richmond with its great ruined Norman castle upon the cliff beside the Swale River dominates most of the district. Dominant, too, has been the role of Richmond in the history and legendry of the North Riding.

* Copyright 1960, James W. Foster.

The individuals and institutions to whom the author is indebted are too numerous by far to mention in limited space. Full acknowledgment will be made to them in the final publication to which this paper is preliminary. It is a pleasant duty, however, to thank certain generous donors for grants without which a study of the life of Sir George Calvert could not have been undertaken, namely, the American

Westwardly rises the broken plateau of the Pennines, 2,000 to 2,500 feet high, cut along the eastern face by cascading streams, many of them cataracts which drop through wild, rocky glens to reach the open country below. These are the renowned Yorkshire dales. Emerging from one of these gorges, Swaledale, the River Swale after skirting Richmond's bluffs flows many miles in a twisting southeastward course through the central Yorkshire plain to join the Ure above the city of York. Thence their united waters run through the stone walled channel within the ancient city, ultimately entering the Ouse to reach the North Sea. In the great plain of the North Riding, gracious in summer sunshine, yet severe under fogs or storms from the not far distant sea, there stands beside the Swale some seven miles below Richmond a brick and stone mansion of Jacobean architecture called Kiplin Hall. Here once stood the house that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the home of Leonard Calvert, gentleman.

The Calverts had been known for generations in Yorkshire, and families of that name were established in each of the three ridings, though they may not all have descended from a single stock.² They were thought by some to have derived from the migration of Flemish weavers attracted to Yorkshire at an early period when the county had become famous for wool growing. In the parchment letters patent, issued in 1622 by Sir Richard St. George,

Philosophical Society, Penrose Fund; Mr. Jacob France, a vice-president of the Maryland Historical Society; and the President, Senator George L. Radcliffe and the Council of the Society whose constant support has been invaluable. Acknowledgments of particular assistance in this chapter are made in the appropriate notes.

Much of my interest in this theme arose from finding the notes of the late Charles W. Bump, (1872-1908) a journalist and scholar of Baltimore who in 1901 made an extended investigation of Calvert sources in England. His death, before he could put his findings in narrative form, resulted in complete eclipse of his work. His extensive notes at the Maryland Historical Society have been of great value. Finally, I have been privileged to have the interest and counsel of Professor Wallace Notestein, emeritus professor of English history at Yale University, whose published writings and unrivalled knowledge of seventeenth century England are widely known—J. W. F.

¹ Letter of Sept. 12, 1630, Strafford Papers, 12, f. 136, Sheffield City Libraries, by the kind permission of Earl Fitzwilliam.

² Wills, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, hereafter cited "Borthwick"; also *Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series*, IV (1888), XIV (1893), XIX (1895), XXII (1897), XXIV (1898), XXVI (1899); *North Riding Record Society, Quarter Sessions, Records* I, II, (1884); *Yorkshire Parish Register Society, Publications*, XLII, XLIII (1911-1912). See also *Administrations* in *Appendixes* of each volume. Other series consulted are *Surtees Society, Publications*, vols. XXVI, CII, CX; *Thoresby Society, Publications*, vol. XIX.

Norroy King of Arms, confirming to Sir George Calvert the gold and black Calvert device which today appears in the seal and flag of Maryland, it is recited that Richard Verstegan, an antiquary of Antwerp, had sent evidence that Sir George was descended from the noble and ancient family of Calverts of Flanders "where they have lived long in great honor."³ Admitting that research standards were less exacting then than now, and even that the Norroy King of Arms may have put his best foot forward to please a courtier high in royal favor, one cannot dismiss a claim accepted by Calvert and undoubtedly by his contemporaries. The case may be rested by saying that the Calverts of Kiplin believed themselves of Flemish extraction.⁴

If we may trust the evidence of wills and inventories, the many Calverts of Yorkshire in the sixteenth century were tenant farmers, husbandmen, in some instances yeomen of standing, and as in the case of Leonard of Kiplin, gentlemen, when that term signified superior social position. Though most of them bequeathed farm animals, feather beds, and small sums of money to their loved one, it is interesting to see provision sometimes made for the education of a younger son.⁵

The Calvert name is associated with Kiplin as early as 1570 when "Jenkyn alias John Calvert de Kypling" was involved in a legal proceeding, the full record of which is now lost.⁶ He was possibly a near relative of John Calvert of Oulcotes, Parish of Arncliffe, some 25 miles to the west, who died in 1565 naming a Leonard Calvert as one of the supervisors of his will.⁷ John of Oulcotes had a son Christopher, a name, as we shall see, borne by another son of Leonard Calvert of Kiplin. Oulcotes, atop the Pennine Ridge and beyond the border of the North Riding, in the West Riding, was the place of residence of many Calverts. We may surmise that it was from thence the Kiplin branch derived.

³ Confirmation of arms to Sir George Calvert, Dec. 3, 1622. Calvert Paper No. 31½, Maryland Historical Society.

⁴ Modern scholars, however, contend that the origin of the name is *calfherd*, descriptive of the occupation in mediaeval times of certain farm retainers. This may well be so; or it may apply to some of the Calverts and not to all. P. H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (London, 1958); correspondence with Dr. A. R. Wagner, Richmond Herald, 1960, at Maryland Historical Society. Dr. Wagner prefers the *calfherd* theory.

⁵ Wills and Administrations, as in note 2.

⁶ Temple Newsam Coll., 1570, OR 176W, Central Library, Leeds. John Calvert is again mentioned in a legal action, Temple Newsam, 1570, TRaW.

⁷ Wills, Vol. 17, f. 434, Borthwick. *Yorkshire Arch. Soc., Rec. Ser.*, XIV, 28.

George Calvert, the future Lord Baltimore, was born about 1580 at Kiplin where his father Leonard, son of John, was a tenant of Philip Lord Wharton.⁸ Leonard was a man of standing, in 1602 treasurer of the Lame Soldiers' Fund, Richmondshire Division of the North Riding.⁹

George's mother has been said by some to have been *Alice* (or *Alicia*) Crosland and by others, *Grace* Crosland. After considering the very limited evidence, the writer believes that she was Alice, daughter of John Crosland of Crosland near Almondbury in the West Riding.¹⁰ Her family's arms were quartered with Calvert arms by the second Lord Baltimore, indicating that she was an heiress in her own right, having no brothers.¹¹ Nothing more is known of her or her family. Presumably she died in early life, and her husband Leonard married a second time. This belief is

⁸ Roger Dodsworth, "Yorkshire Church Notes," *Yorkshire Arch Soc., Rec. Ser.*, XXXIV (1904), 234. Note dated 1622.

⁹ North Riding Record Office, Northallerton, Yorks., Quarter Sessions, Lame Soldiers Book, 34v-35. For this I am indebted to Mr. C. K. Croft Andrews, County Archivist, Northallerton. Also in *North Riding Record Society*, II, 278, 282. The present owner of Kiplin, Miss Bridget Talbot, has deposited the estate papers at the North Riding Record Office. They yield little pertinent information about the family at this period.

¹⁰ This view is supported by the antiquary B. L. Hearne, who at Oxford was an intimate friend of Benedict Leonard Calvert, F. R. S., son of the third Lord Baltimore. Calvert's record, endorsed by Hearne, "This pedigree was drawn up and written (with his own hand) by the Honble Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq. who gave it me on Mond. Sept. 1, 1718," begins with the union of Leonard Calvert with "Alicia daughter & Heiress of John Crosland of Crosland." Hearne in his diary further elaborated in chart form the Calvert pedigree, ornamented with the arms of the family through five generations, where he repeats the Leonard-Alicia marriage, but omits the name of her father. Both records, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, (Rawlinson 67, f. 12, and 82, f. 129) were later utilized by William Paver whose beautiful charts (in the British Museum, Additional MS 29, f. 647, 784 and 128v) under "Calvert" and "Crosland" straddle the problem by giving the name of Alice in the former and Grace in the latter. On the other hand, the so-called Visitation of 1612 by Sir Richard St. George (printed in Sir William Glover, *Visitation of Yorkshire . . . 1584-1585*, edited by Joseph Foster, London, 1875) shows Grace Crosland the wife of Leonard (p. 509). Yet at p. 500, sub "Calvert of Danby Wiske," Foster has included the Leonard-Alice union. I am informed by Dr. Wagner that this version comes from Harleian MS 1487, British Museum, and is not the work of a qualified genealogist. It was not taken from a Visitation. Thomas à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, (London, 1721), probably depending on Hearne, calls the mother Alice. Sir William Dugdale's official *Visitation of Yorkshire, 1655, with Additions*, edited by J. W. Clay, (Exeter, 1899), I, 181-182, makes Grace the wife of Leonard Calvert, without referring to offspring. See also *The Genealogist*, n. s., XII, 200. That Alice and Grace were cousins in a near degree seems entirely probable.

¹¹ The earliest use of the combined Calvert-Crosland arms occurs, so far as the writer knows, on the coat decorating the map in *A Relation of Maryland*, a promotion tract published in 1635 by Cecil, second Lord Baltimore. A commentary on the Alice or Grace confusion by the late Francis B. Culver appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX (1934), 330-331. He pointed out that

supported by the record of the Yorkshire High Commission showing that Leonard Calvert and wife *Grace* in 1592 were summoned by the Commission to answer charges of religious nonconformity.¹²

Of Grace Crosland, daughter of Thomas, of Crosland Hill near Almondbury, something more is to be found. Since her baptism appears in the register of the established church at Almondbury on February 8, 1573, presumably at a tender age, she could not have been a mother in 1580. She is mentioned in the will of her father, a yeoman, who died in 1587.¹³ Like the Yorkshire Calverts, however, the Croslands were numerous and their family relationships defy understanding. The name is legion today in the same area, and Crosland place-names abound—Crosland Hall, Crosland Hill, Crosland Edge, and so on—while in the churchyard of Huddersfield, the nearby metropolis, we find rank on rank of tombs of departed Croslands. Consequently search for more light on Alice and Grace and their relation to each other has to be abandoned, complicated as it is by the lack of reliable birth, death and marriage records of Roman Catholics, as many if not all of the Calverts and Croslands were. Anglican clerks and vicars often failed to make entries and confused the Christian names of their parishioners. Spelling of names was largely phonetic. The churches at Danby Wiske and at Bolton-on-Swale, both but a few miles from Kiplin, have no records prior to 1600. If they were made, they have been lost. Catholics were married privately and had their young baptized surreptitiously by priests who travelled by night and hid by day, usually avoiding or neglecting any formal record.

The Yorkshire High Commission summons of October, 1592, to Leonard and Grace Calvert was by no means the first effort to compel their compliance in worship, nor was it to be the last. Frequently in the years 1580 to 1594 this couple was pressed to conform to Anglican practice. Leonard in 1580 submitted a certificate that he had conformed—whether by church attendance or taking communion does not appear—and two years later gave

Grace Crosland had brothers who continued the line of her family; she was not an heiress and therefore could not transmit the arms to her descendants. It is safe to conclude that Cecil, second baron, a grandson, would not have used the Crosland device without justification.

¹² Yorkshire High Commission Act Book 3 (1591-1595), f. 83, Borthwick.

¹³ Wills, vol. 23, f. 623, Borthwick; Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, I, 181-182. A search of the register of All Saints Church, Almondbury, disclosed the baptismal entry of Grace Crosland. That of Alice was not found.

bond that he and his wife (whose name was not stated) would communicate within a given time. When proof that they had done so was not forthcoming, he was forced to give a new bond for compliance with this order. Again he failed to obey and attachment of his person was ordered by the Commission. Here the records are silent. Whether he was actually imprisoned or obtained release by paying a fine is not known. The next entry relating to him is dated October 9, 1592, and may be abstracted as follows: Leonard Calvert of Kipling, gentleman, and Grace his wife, before the High Commission. Leonard took bond that he would have no Catholic servants or Catholic teacher for his children, and would buy within a month a Book of Common Prayer, a Bible in English and a catechism, all to lie open in his house "for everyone to read." All "Popish books or other trumpery or relics of Popery" were to be dispensed with. His children were to be put to school in York and not to leave without license from the Archbishop of York.¹⁴

Two of these children—probably the only offspring at this time—were George and Christopher, named later in another order by the same authority. The boys, doubtless full brothers about 12 and 10 years old, respectively, are now to "learn with Mr. Fowberry at Bilton" and to appear once every quarter before the commissioners to see "how they perfect in learning."

When Mr. Fowberry soon after removed to Hull, one Robert Calvert, cleric, *i. e.* minister of the establishment, of Durham, went bond in the amount of £100 that George and Christopher would study either with himself or with Nicholas Anderson at Linton. Though a small degree of choice was given, the picture of oppression is clear.¹⁵

Since the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, when the Roman Catholic sentiment in Yorkshire disclosed itself in an uprising of frightening proportions and was brutally dealt with by Henry

¹⁴ Abstract of this and other entries supplied by the Rev. Hugh Aveling, O. S. B., to whom the author is greatly indebted. Father Aveling's contributions are vital to our understanding of the family's situation at this period. The full record from the High Commission Act Books, as supplied by Father Aveling, is given in the Supplement to this article.

¹⁵ High Com. A. B. 3, f. 112v, Borthwick, April 24, 1593. A description of grammar schools about this time, with their emphasis on the Latin classics, the use of spoken Latin in class, and the Romanized outlook on the world so acquired, is to be found in chapter 11 of Wallace Notestein, *The English People on the Eve of Colonization* (New York, 1934).

VIII and his military leaders, the county had been rent by religious quarrels. Many prominent families, including peers of the realm, had sought to avoid the fines and disabilities imposed upon them as Catholics. Sometimes the authorities winked at non-conformity till a lay or clerical busybody turned informer against laggards and brought harsh retribution. Sometimes relatives or friends in high places interposed and enabled the nonconformist, or even the hard-pressed recusant, to escape punishment. Such instances were not rare. Often they reflect the unwillingness of Queen Elizabeth or of local officers to impose fines or worse upon the people, for under constant pressure from officials of church and state the masses turned more and more toward the state religion. Time, it was hoped, might work further improvement. Prominent at court were many Catholic lords who gave merest lip service and often not even that, to the Anglican hierarchy.

The device of taking children from Catholic homes and placing them under the tutelage of Protestants was a new one.¹⁶ That it was not always successful is shown by the fact that the next year the Commission found Nicholas Anderson, one of their chosen tutors, guilty by his own confession of using the "Popish primer." He was required to leave Linton and take up instruction elsewhere.¹⁷

Nor were this snatching away of his children and being compelled to purchase and display Protestant books the only interferences visited upon Leonard Calvert. In December, 1592, he was obliged to certify to the Commission that he had communicated at the established church and in the following spring pressures mounted to force his wife to do the same. If she should not comply, she was to be the prisoner of one of the Commission's agents, that is, to be removed to his house and remain there. Next day, however, one Milo Pickering went her bond in the sum of £20 that she would conform no later than Monday after Trinity Sunday. But on June 11 she was still a hold-out and Pickering's bond was renewed in her presence with the proviso that she communicate no later than Michaelmas following (September 29). The last we hear is that her case was called in October, but neither punishment nor acquittal is recorded.¹⁸

¹⁶ Conyers Read, *Lord Burleigh and Queen Elizabeth* (New York, 1960), p. 237, 247, 421, 489-490.

¹⁷ High Com. A. B. 3, f. 126v, Borthwick, Sept. 13, 1593.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 113v and 129v. Father Aveling remarks that "The gap in Calvert

What must have been the atmosphere of the Calvert home during these years? What must have been the effect of persecution upon the boys? Conditions such as these undoubtedly bred tensions and hatreds that could never be erased, prejudices and attitudes that would long survive. To be uprooted from their home against their parents' will and put to school in strange towns 20 miles away may well have brought resentment against authority even from carefree youths. No doubt they forgot themselves in sports, in the few primitive playthings that their age boasted, in hunting game, fishing in the many streams and rambling over the countryside. They must have found their greatest pleasure in riding horseback and tilting in make-believe jousts. For George the evidence of his later years suggests that he was a good student with a definite bent toward learning, that he was level-headed, cautious, and above all, warmhearted and loyal.

The most memorable event in young George's childhood was, of course, the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Then 8 years of age, the boy must have heard of the preparations, long under way, to fend off the enemy. When at last beacon fires throughout England gave the alarm, and suspense lay heavy in every mind, great must have been the relief as word of the destruction wrought by Drake and the providential scattering of the mighty Armada spread through the countryside. Since Kiplin lies but 30 miles southeast of the seacoast at Middlesbrough, there may well have been tales of wreckage that went from mouth to mouth through all the country.¹⁹

Of Kiplin mansion or hall of this early period no picture or description remains. It may have been of the mediaeval fortified type, possibly small, certainly ill-lighted and probably unpretentious. A more modern house, commodious, convenient and handsome, Sir George in 1622 undertook to build for the enjoyment of himself and his family when he should retire from court

prosecutions 1583-1592 coincides fairly well with a slackening of persecution. The 1592-1593 strong persecution was part of a very severe governmental drive. The abrupt cessation of entries in 1593 is odd, since the drive went on for several more years."

A list of Yorkshire recusants made in 1595, among the Cecil MSS, at Hatfield House, contains no Calverts (Letter of Father Aveling, dated November 1, 1960.)

¹⁹ The British evacuation of Dunkirk in 1940 was to bring another climactic event to the Yorkshire coast when small boats brought evacuees into the ports. Men were given emergency shelter and treatment at Kiplin and elsewhere till they could be sent to army hospitals.

and statecraft, a hope that was dashed first by the death of his wife and then by his ardor for colonizing in America. Remote even today, Kiplin stands 220 miles from London and 30 miles from York. Its occupants in the seventeenth century were not acquainted with affairs in London, the court intrigues, the gossip, the news-mongers, the customs and fashions of the day. Letters by mounted couriers took several days each way. Certain of the Yorkshire leaders, both political and social, were frequent visitors to the capital and some of them maintained residences there, but the tone of the county was set rather by the substantial gentry, the holders of office—members of the Council of the North and those of Parliament—such noblemen as merited respect, and the higher clergy—the bishops and deans. The gentry were numerous, forming the backbone of county society. There is reason to believe that the Calverts of Kiplin were of moderate circumstances. We know that means were found to send George to Oxford University and on finishing his studies he seems to have made a prolonged tour of the Continent.

Grace, the wife of Leonard Calvert, appears briefly once more. She declined to be a communicant at Easter, 1604, and was fined.²⁰ The inference is that she had conformed to the extent of attending church but would rather pay a fine than accept the Anglican communion. It was presumably she who was mentioned as the wife of Leonard in the will of his nephew, Ralph Ewens, clerk of the House of Commons, when he died in 1611.²¹ George's brother Christopher also fails to emerge from the shadows.

If the religious atmosphere of Leonard Calvert's home was ambiguous, it could scarcely be thought unusual for the time. Though no wind of Puritanism blew through it, as happened with many families of England, the struggle between Rome and Canterbury allowed ample room for quarrels. Leonard had been named treasurer of the Lame Soldiers Fund, as we have seen. The elec-

²⁰ Edward Peacock, *List of Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604* (London, 1872), p. 69.

²¹ Will in Somerset House, Prerogative Court, Canterbury, Wood 74. John More's comment on this will, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, III (1938), 139. The names and relationships of Ewens' Calvert and other kin set forth in his will have made possible considerable additions to the Calvert pedigree. The will has been given in full in the book, *Descendants of Virginia Calverts*, by the late Ella F. O'Gorman (privately printed, 1947), p. 2-4. The printed version has been verified by the present writer.

tion for a term of one year was made by the justices of the shire at the quarter sessions in Richmond on July 12, 1602. This fund for the relief of needy soldiers and mariners was raised by the churchwardens and turned over to the high constables. They in turn handed it over to the Treasurer who disbursed it. At the end of his term of office Leonard accounted to the justices for £24.18.10 that had passed through his hands, and was discharged from further duty. Evidently he enjoyed the confidence of the authorities both civil and religious. He must not only have conformed but have shown staunch allegiance to the established church. His appointment was recognition of his regularity in worship as well as of his personal integrity. Yet, as we have also seen, his wife a year or so later was to be fined for non-communicating.

The cessation of persecution in 1593 together with the appointment to office in 1602 seem to prove that Leonard abandoned Catholicism, in spite of his wife's strong attachment to the old faith. Perhaps in these two events there is an explanation of his son George's conformity in religion throughout his early life and his official career at court.

The Kiplin (or Kipling) estate had belonged to the dissolved Abbey of St. Agatha, a monastic foundation of the twelfth century near Richmond. After the Abbey's suppression by Henry VIII, its lands passed by royal grants into various hands. In 1557 Kiplin was given by Philip and Mary to Henry Lord Scrope, who in turn sold it to Philip Lord Wharton.²² Kiplin apparently was never owned by Leonard Calvert, for we find in December, 1619, a license issued by James I permitting Philip Lord Wharton and his son Sir Thomas to sell the estate to George Calvert, secretary of state and "faithful counselor." The transaction was completed the following year.²³ This purchase included not only the "mansion house," water mill, a village of 8 houses, a chapel and chapel ground, but also a tract of land in Moulton, about six miles from Kiplin. These, however, were not George Calvert's first acquisitions in Richmondshire. In 1616 he had bought the Manor of Danby Wiske, five miles eastward, in association with his brother-in-law George Mynne and his secretary and future son-in-law Wil-

²² *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Yorkshire North Riding*, I (1914), 307.

²³ *Ibid.*

liam Peaseley.²⁴ His interest in his native soil, sentimental as we have seen, was based also on a considerable financial commitment.

The circle of the Calverts at Kiplin included a few relatives who appear in historical records and throw further sidelights on their associations. Noteworthy among them is Ralph Ewens, already mentioned, a member of Gray's Inn, who died, childless, in 1611. Ewens in 1603 had been appointed auditor of the Queen's properties by Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Treasurer. He married the widow of a rich goldsmith and in his will left remembrances to a long list of relatives including his uncle, Leonard Calvert and his wife, unnamed; his grandmother, "Mistress Margerie Calvert," his uncle and aunt Branthwaite, and his cousins George, Christopher and Samuel Calvert. To George he left 40 shillings for a memorial ring, and the execution of certain provisions. We gather that Ewens' old home was in South Cowton, Yorkshire, but four miles from Kiplin.²⁵

Another family closely allied with the Calverts were the Smithsons. George Calvert's sister Dorothy married Christopher Smithson of Moulton, North Riding. Grace, a daughter of this union, married into the Conyers family, while a younger member married a Fairfax, one of the most influential families in Yorkshire. Sons of Christopher and Dorothy Smithson were named Leonard, Calvert and George. Later a member of this family was to have many financial dealings with successive Lords Baltimore.²⁶

Though these glimpses of the Calvert environment yield us small satisfaction, they are precious rays of light in the gloom of sixteenth century family and social history. The great families had their castles or manor houses, their muniments, their stores of documents, letters and even diaries; their imposing portraits, and full-length effigies upon their marble tombs. Their history is documented at a thousand points. The rank and file of gentle folk, lacking great lands and royal, political or ecclesiastical preferment, left in their scanty annals little besides honorable names and inheritance to their descendants.

²⁴ Calvert Papers 25, 28, Md. Hist. Soc.: *Yorkshire Fines for the Stuart Period*, II (*Yorkshire Arch. Soc., Rec. Ser. LVIII*) (1917), 62; *Victoria History, Yorkshire, North Riding*, I, 172.

²⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1603-1610*, p. 34. Ewens' marriage, J. L. Chester, . . . *Marriage Licenses Issued by the Bishop of London, 1520 to 1610*, I, (*Harleian Society Publications, XXV*) (1887).

²⁶ Dugdale, *op. cit.*, III, 492-493; James Raine, "A Notice of Henry Jenkins," *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, I (1870) 129-131.

When, however, a member of such a family has emerged into the glare of London and the life of the court, especially when he has attained high office and played a part on a wider stage, his footprints are readily traced. As young George Calvert enters his teens his record grows clearer and soon can be followed year by year. The present account broadens the history already known by showing the devout Catholic atmosphere of his home and the uncompromising experiences he met with in the name of religion. Perhaps it is not too much to wonder if the harsh events of his boyhood gave spur to this youth's will and helped to develop in him the character and energy to advance himself.

SUPPLEMENT

The orders of the Yorkshire High Commission relating to Leonard Calvert and his family, as abstracted by Father Aveling from the Act Books, are as follows:

1580

Aug. 11—Leonard Calverde de Kyplinge, gent, his wife and whole family, put on bond to conform himself in religion. Book 17, 1580-1585, f. 18.

Oct. 3—Leonard Calverd of Kypling, gent. Thomas Todd brought certificate that Calvert had conformed. Dismissed this time but to be called again. *Ibid.*, f. 39 v.

1581

Jan. 16—Leonard Calverd de Kypling, gent, due to certify reception of Communion today. Non comparuit nec certificavit [He did not appear nor did he certify]. *Ibid.*, f. 71.

1583

July 19—Leonard Calvert de Kipling, armiger, put on bond for the conformity of himself, wife and family on Aug. 11, 1580. He had once certified their going to church by his man, who was told a further certificate was wanted after Christmas, but none was sent in. Calvert appeared in court and was enjoined to certify on the Monday after Michaelmas [Sept. 29] that he, his wife and family had communicated. *Ibid.*, f. 214.

Oct. 1—Leonard Calvert of Kipling, gent. No appearance. His attachment ordered. *Ibid.*, f. 228 v.

1592

Oct. 9—Leonard Calvert de Kipling, gent, and Grace his wife. He came and took bond that he, his wife and family would conform to the established religion. The bond forbids him to have Catholic servants or schoolmaster in his house. He is to buy inside a month a Book of Common Prayer, a Bible in English, Mr. Nowell's Catechism in English and one other book, as Calvin's Institution, Dr. Bilson's book, the Ursinus Catechism, or Dr. Reynolds' Conference with Hart, to lie open in his home for everyone to read, and to provide for his children Nowell's Catechism in Latin or Greek, as their schoolmaster shall appoint. He is to have hereafter no popish books or other trumpery or reliques of popery, and his children will be kept at school at York and not leave there without licence from the Archbishop of York. Book 3, 1591-1595, f. 83.

Oct. 23—Leonard Calvert, gent, bonded in £100 that George Calvert and Christopher Calvert, his sons, shall hereafter learn with Mr. Fowberry now schoolmaster at Bilton and shall not depart from him without licence. If required, he is to bring them in to the Commissioners once a quarter to see how they perfect in learning. *Ibid.*, f. 84.

Dec. 4—Certificate that Leonard Calvert of Kipling, gent, had communicated was sent by Ralph Swadale; it was accepted after Swadale had sworn to its truth.

1593

April 23—Grace, wife of Leonard Calvert de Kipling, gent, ordered to appear in court today unless she sends a certificate that she has communicated. She appeared in court but had not received communion and refused to do so. She was committed prisoner to custody of the Pursuivant Southwood unless [she agreed]. *Ibid.*, f. 110 v.

April 24—Milo Pickering of Helaugh, yeoman, took bond in £20 that Grace Calvert, wife of Leonard, gent, now released from Thomas Southwood's custody, would go to receive communion before Monday after Trinity Sunday, and would certify to that effect or else appear in court. *Ibid.*, f. 112 v.

May 13—Robert Calvert de Durham, cleric, appeared and took bond that Christopher and George Calvert, sons of Leonard, gent, (late scholars to one Mr Fobrey, scolemaister late at Bilton and now going to Hull to teach school there) should hereafter learn with the same Robert Calvert, clerk, or Nicholas Anderson, scholemaister of Robert Kay's house, gent, and not depart from there without licence of the Commissioners. *Ibid.*

June 11—Grace, wife of Leonard Calvert de Kipling, appeared and Milo Pickering took bond in £20 for her to appear Monday after Michaelmas unless she sends a certificate of her communion. *Ibid.*, 113 v.

Sept. 13—Nicholas Anderson, ludimagister [schoolmaster] at Linton was inhibited not to teach any further in the house of Robert Kay of Linton in regard that having taught the popish primer heretofore to his scholars, and being convicted thereof by his own confession and having made promise upon licence granted him again to teach, to make amends for his former evil behaviour, he yet notwithstanding his allowance to teach in the said Kay's house, hath never taught his scholars the catechism nor any principles of religion now established. He might teach in the house of Mr. Snawsdell of Bilton, gent, if Snawsdell likes. *Ibid.*, f. 126 v.

Oct. 9—Grace wife of Leonard Calvert of Kipling. Quo die [*sic*—no further record]. *Ibid.*, f. 129 v.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND ELECTION STATISTICS IN MARYLAND,

1790 – 1812

By J. R. POLE

IN the post-revolutionary history of the constitutions of the Atlantic states there is much that is dramatic, bitter and even violent; but there is no transformation more abrupt and, on the face of it, implausible, than that of Maryland. A man who had been born in 1776, cradled in whiggish orthodoxy, would have come of age in the year when his state extended the suffrage franchise to all adult white males without even the requirement of a tax payment, and would have been able to bring up his children in a society which had little to distinguish it from political democracy. The constitution itself was subject to amendment by the representatives of the people; the forces, however, which acted so potently on the constitution were not purely internal. One of these was the rise of Baltimore, in part a product of developments in international trade; the other was the organisation of national political parties, to which Maryland duly contributed, but by whose consequences she was in turn deeply influenced.

In the light of later developments, the whig concepts which guided the thinking of the early state constitution-makers came to look forbiddingly conservative,¹ and in Maryland more so than in most other states. Conservative, in an important sense, they certainly were: they represented, when translated into political institutions, an attempt to build for the future in the form of a prevalent political theory and an equivalent social structure. The general design was that of a political pyramid, comprising a broad base of participation in elections by the common people, and a progressively narrower degree of participation for the ascending scales of elective office. In Maryland, as in most states,

¹ See, for example, Allan Nevins, *The American States during and after the Revolution* (New York, 1924), p. 157.

the successive levels were marked out by graduated qualifications of property.² Under this system, the small group of influential families who had dominated the affairs of the province were able to maintain their grip in the newly-created state.³

Even under the proprietary government, whose electoral laws required the ownership of either a fifty-acre freehold or forty pounds personal estate in sterling,⁴ there are occasional evidences of participation in elections by a high proportion of the population of free adult males.⁵ But the Revolution brought one constitutional reform which, though not startling in form, was to be of irreversible long-term significance. This was the reduction of the personal property qualification for the franchise from forty pounds in sterling (which, of course, was a very hard currency in the late colonial period) to thirty pounds in current money—that is, whatever money was valid under state law; so that the depreciation of wartime currencies must certainly have had the practical effect of extending the suffrage.

A practical extension taking place unintentionally under the aegis of the election law is not the same thing as an extension carried through by legislative intent. There are two sets of evidence on

² The qualifications were as follow:

For the suffrage franchise: ownership of a fifty-acre freehold or of personal estate worth thirty pounds in current money.

For membership of the House of Delegates: one year's residence in the county for which the candidate was elected, and the ownership of property worth £500 (real or personal) current money, within the state.

For membership of the Senate: three year's residence, and £1,000 real and personal property, current money.

For Governor: 25 years of age; 5 years residence in the State; £5,000 (current) property in the State, of which £1,000 at least to be in freehold land.

For membership of the Council: over 25 years; 3 year's residence in state; £1,000 (current) freehold in the state.

To be elected sheriff: 21 years; £1,000 (current) real or personal in the state.

The Senate was elected by a college of electors, themselves brought into being by county elections every five years, each county choosing two members. The Senate itself filled vacancies by co-option. Current money might be any form of legal tender; no fewer than three types of money other than sterling were "current" in the state before the end of the Revolutionary war: the "Continental state money" and the "black money" both of 1780, and the "red money" of 1781; in addition there were the Continental dollars and the various notes of other states. See Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland during and after the Revolution* (Baltimore 1943) pp., 86-87. F. N. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions, etc.* (7 vols., Washington, 1909), III, 1691-1701.

³ See, in general, Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940). Crowl, *Maryland during and after the Revolution*, espec. pp. 96-97.

⁴ Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-177.

which to base conclusions about the actual state of the suffrage between the making of the constitution of 1776 and its amendment in 1801-02; these are, first the records of disputed elections,⁶ and secondly the county-by-county statistics which are now available in serial form from 1790 to 1812.⁷ The first question to ask is whether the disappearance of the wartime paper currencies really did have the effect of re-introducing a class of disfranchised Maryland citizens. The fairly frequent practice of challenging election returns by alleging that the result had been won with the aid of unqualified voters makes it clear that such a class had not disappeared in the theory of politics, however elusive it might have been in fact. A disappointed candidate would often throw in this accusation though he may not have expected it to do him much good. What is important, however, is that so long as the challenges were even part of the give and take of hard-fought elections, there must always have been a class for whom the exercise of the suffrage was a matter more of chance than of right. It would be a great mistake to suppose that a high level of suffrage participation under conditions of uncertain legality can be regarded as a satisfactory state of affairs by those who want the franchise as a matter of right. Both Federalists and Republicans, when they began to take organised shape, saw that political capital might be made of the demand, but though the Federalists hesitated, neither did the Republicans at first grasp the opportunity with the quickness or enthusiasm that their advertised principles might have led their admirers to expect.

Long before the advent of political parties, however, the course of Maryland politics had begun to reflect the influences of the overwhelming economic and demographic fact in the state—the growth of Baltimore. No other state was so dominated by the growth of a single town. The population of Baltimore was given as 13,503 in 1790; in 1810, as 46,555; an increase of 244 per cent which should be seen in contrast with a general increase of only 11.4 per cent in the population of the state.⁸ By 1798 Baltimore

⁶ Preserved in the Executive Papers, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Evidence from these was published in J. R. Pole, "Suffrage and Representation in Maryland from 1776 to 1810: A Statistical Note and some Reflections," *Journal of Southern History* XXIV (May, 1958) no. 2, 218-223.

⁷ *Infra*.

⁸ *Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, 1853) p. 222. And 1790 (Phila. 1791) p. 47.

was the nation's third commercial city.⁹ The population statistics tell the story not only of Baltimore's rise but of the depopulation or at best, stagnation of many of the southern and East Shore counties. Annapolis, remaining the capital, was reduced to a shadow of its former substance.

Demands for electoral reform in Maryland did not spring in the first place from the issues of party politics. As early as 1791, the House of Delegates passed a bill to abolish all property qualifications for elective office; the bill failed of confirmation in the succeeding session, as required to become a constitutional amendment, but it may be doubted whether the effective leadership in the House would have passed it if they had thought it might lead to a weakening of their position.¹⁰ The constitution provided for voting in the county court of each county, a requirement which caused hardship to those who lived in the remoter villages, especially in the larger, western counties. After some years of dispute, an amendment by which counties were divided into voting districts was passed, in 1800, to remedy this grievance. The measure brought a controversy between the town of Frederick and the country districts but did not follow clear-cut party lines although republican principles were stoutly affirmed on both sides. Attempts to suppress cheating and bribery at elections seem to have had little effect.¹¹

It was natural that demands for an extension of the suffrage should be made under the existing conditions; and it is also clear that, as the Federalists and Republicans developed beyond the stage of being mere unorganised affinities, into organised and disciplined parties, the Republicans established for themselves a practical connection with the more democratic-looking causes. It may seem uncharitable to suggest that the practical connection preceded that of principle; but the fact is that the issue, when first presented, found the Republicans sharply divided. In 1797 Federalist leaders demonstrated some political acumen by bringing forward the first bill for abolition of all property qualifications for the suffrage, a bill which passed a Federalist House of Delegates to be rejected by a Federalist Senate. A leading part in the

⁹ Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, (2 vol., Baltimore Md. 1879), II, 604-5. Cited by J. R. Heller III, "Democracy in Maryland 1790-1810" a senior thesis, Princeton University, 1959, p. 9.

¹⁰ Heller, *op. cit.*, 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 43-44.

opposition was taken by Joseph H. Nicholson, a Republican, whose political standing was so little impaired by this policy that he later became a congressman in his party's interest.¹²

The Federalists came, perhaps, nearer to their true colors when in January, 1799 they attempted to pass an amendment to the constitution to eliminate perjury at elections by requiring the voter to produce documentary evidence of tax assessments to indicate his "worth" at £30¹³ or that he possessed a freehold of fifty acres of land. The enforcement of this measure would certainly have eliminated voters of marginal property. This gave the Republicans their opportunity and thenceforward they took the lead in advocating not only suffrage extension but the secret ballot. Federalists in the House tried to turn the Republican flank by reporting a new bill to do away with property qualifications for the suffrage, which passed by a large majority, only to be turned down once more by the Senate. Since oaths of tax assessment were notoriously productive of perjury, it was logical enough either to require written evidence, or to abolish the property qualification which gave rise to the need. It was only after the tax assessment act had been passed that the parties began to treat this issue as a matter of electoral policy; but the incompleteness of party organisation is shown by the Federalist Senate's rejection of the move, by the Federalists in the House, to extend the franchise. To the common voter, it could only mean that the Republicans were the party of constitutional reform, dividing the parties on grounds of constitutional principle, which was just the impression that the House Federalists were evidently trying to avoid.

Divided though they might be on principle, the parties were little different in social substance. Both parties found support in slave-owning and plantation-controlled areas; smaller farming interests were more inclined to go Republican. The towns moved steadily towards the Republicans, who seem to have been able to enlist the mechanics and artisans; by 1803 only Georgetown remained Federalist. The leadership of both parties was provided by those who had traditionally governed: planters, merchants and

¹² This passage, and the points of political narrative that follow, are taken from Heller, *op. cit.*

¹³ *Laws of Maryland*, 1798, ch. CXVI, sec. 6. The bill appears to have been passed by a Federalist "rump" after the majority of members had gone home. It produced an outcry, and was not reintroduced in the succeeding session, as required to amend the constitution. *Assembly Proceedings* Jan. 1799. Bartgis' *Federal Gazette* Sept. 11, 1799. Cited by Heller, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

lawyers. It was the familiar convention of the period, a government of the gentry, consolidated, not undermined, by a broadening basis of popular participation.

When the Republicans came into power in Maryland they demonstrated both the extent and the limits of their reformist intentions. They gained control of the House of Delegates in 1800, after a campaign in which interest was concentrated on the issue of legislative as opposed to popular choice of presidential electors. The Federalists had proposed to vest the choice of electors in the state legislature, a reversal of existing procedure, in order to offset the general ticket system which the Jeffersonians, equally for party purposes, had introduced in Virginia. The Federalist defeat in the House elections was followed in 1801 by Republican success in the quinquennial elections for the Senate. With control of the legislature at last established, they carried out their programme by passing the act which extended the suffrage to all adult white males¹⁴ and by re-passing it, to effect a constitutional amendment, in the next session. It was in this act that the word "white" was first added to the list of the qualifications of voters, a significant feature of that expansion of general interest in politics which culminated—or recurred—in the Jacksonian period. It was in the constitutional revisions of (loosely speaking) the Jacksonian period that the exclusion of free Negroes from political life was completed in the South, and their restriction carried further in the North. The ballot was introduced in 1803 as part of the same measure.

Popular interest and participation in elections ran very high in many states in the Jeffersonian period. Party organisation reached into counties and townships and was supported by a vigorous and frequently partisan press. All this is not to be attributed to an adventitious or artificially stimulated excitement: the issues of the period were intrinsically important and go far to explain the rise of party politics. The parties, in turn, developed an interest in the issues that would maintain them in power or restore them to it. The statistics show a marked rise in the level of participation by voters from 1796 to 1800; and a distinct overall increase again in the congressional elections of 1803. It seems likely that the abolition of suffrage qualifications brought more men into the elections of that year; but a close examination shows that there

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, sess. 1801, ch. 90, confirmed 1802, c. 20.

had been outbursts of electoral activity which, in the majority of counties, had produced equally high figures in years before suffrage reform. In five counties, Allegheny, Calvert, Frederick, Harford and Washington, the voting in 1803 was outstandingly higher than ever before; in the remaining fourteen, there were occasional precedents for equally high voting. Suffrage restrictions may not have been working either uniformly or effectively, but their removal went far towards satisfying popular aspirations for political equality and left the parties more freedom to develop their electoral strategy. The elimination of the harrassing uncertainty as to the right to vote must be counted a positive gain both for individual voter and for political organiser.

It would be a mistake, however, to see the parties of this formative period in a modern light, outlined by modern definitions. There are marked signs that the Senate, even under Republican control, still stood for the social principles which had inspired its foundation. It was by its constitution more remote than the House from the direct influence of the people, and it interpreted the maintenance of that remoteness as one of its constitutional duties. When, in 1804, the House passed a bill providing for the direct election of the Senate by the people, the upper chamber defended itself by adding a totally unacceptable amendment for proportional representation in the lower house. The Senate also defended the special position of the governor, rejecting, in January, 1805, a House bill for popular election. It may be added that many Republicans in the House had failed to support this bill.¹⁶

International affairs, and Jeffersonian foreign policy, would not permit political issues to subside. Both parties seem, after 1808, to have realised that future strength would be drawn from enlisting popular support throughout the constitutional process rather than by the maintenance of graduated restrictions. By the next wave of reforms, coming in 1809, all property qualifications were removed from appointive and elective office. Religious equality was also put on a constitutional basis. But the indirect system of election of governor, council and Senate was left untouched. Popular election of presidential electors and representatives in Congress was made part of the constitution at the same

¹⁶ Heller, *op. cit.* 79-81.

time.¹⁷ Direct election of senators in the counties was introduced in 1837. The Council was then abolished and the governorship was opened to popular election.¹⁸

While the constitution of Maryland had been growing more democratic, there was one important respect in which its effects, by mere conservatism, had been growing steadily more undemocratic. This was the basis of representation in the House of Delegates, unchanged throughout this period and left intact by the reforms of 1809-1810. Each county was entitled to four, Baltimore and Annapolis each to two, members in the lower house.¹⁹ With the attrition of population in the lower counties, the vast growth of Baltimore, and the thickening of settlement in western counties, this system developed, without attention, the characteristics of an ingrown gerrymander. The agrarian interests, watching the rise of the city with distrust, clung to a system which afforded them a form of defence against the representation of numbers. It could be seen, philosophically, as a continuation of the respectable whig concept of a government devised to incorporate and protect a variety of economic and professional interests; but in blunt fact it was a safeguard against the rule of the majority.

Intimations of the strength of this majority had been given as early as 1790, in which year the reader's scepticism is likely to be aroused by the extraordinary turnout of the voters of Baltimore. The returns show a poll by adult males that barely halts itself at 100 per cent. The explanation lies in an intense struggle for control of the state's congressional delegation between the interests centered on the Chesapeake and those on the Potomac. The Baltimore vote was the decisive factor in the Chesapeake victory.

In such conditions, there could not be much permanent hope of controlling the political process by constitutional restraints on the suffrage. Popularity could too easily be whipped up by candidates making claims on behalf of those who were disfranchised, or whose position was doubtful.²⁰ The future lay with those who

¹⁷ Thorpe, *op. cit.*, 1705-1712. It had previously been effective under statute.

¹⁸ Thorpe *op. cit.*, 1691.

¹⁹ Heller, *Ibid.*, 14 et seq.

²⁰ A case in point is that of the disputed election in Frederick County in 1788. In this case John Ritchie petitioned against the return of his rival, Peter Manz. He alleged that Manz had declared that if Ritchie objected to the qualifications of anyone offering to vote for Manz, then Manz had decided to announce in public his opinion that all men ought to be privileged to vote; and if Ritchie persisted

could mobilise the franchise of the masses, not with those who would restrict it. This, in retrospect, is plain enough; and a certain interest must attach to the problem of explaining the apparent reticence of the Jeffersonians of Maryland in setting about this task of mobilisation. Some of their leaders, in both House and Senate, seem to have thought that the tasks of a Republican party of opposition to Federalist policies could be discharged by the recognized social and political leaders, under existing constitutional safeguards; it was only after hesitation, as constitutional reform became linked with party politics, that the Republicans agreed in proclaiming the connection between their general principles and the specific demands for a greater measure of popular participation in the political life of the state. If the problems of that political life are considered within the context of the deeply ingrained sense of social order and the habits of deference which characterised the eighteenth century and were formally expressed by the constitution of 1776, and if the continuity of the Republican leadership with that social order is also understood, then it may be suggested that the impetus to Republican organisation was not in its origin an impetus to constitutional reform. Reform came quickly, and was taken up in fact by both parties; but it was a consequence rather than a cause of their formation.

Before political parties, the social conditions of reform were brought into existence by the rise of Baltimore. This, in Maryland, is the outstanding feature of the period; but its implications reach far beyond the bounds of the state, and make of Maryland herself an astonishing forcing-house of the democratic process, against all expectation, and against the intentions of the framers of her recent constitution. The whig principles embodied in the constitution were essentially similar to those of Virginia, though they were actually applied in Maryland with more care and elaboration. In both states, these institutions eventually crumbled before the great equalizing forces that were to take command in the nineteenth century. These forces did not rise from any single source.

in his objections after this, it was expected to cause him great unpopularity. Manz himself told the judges that he himself would object to no-one, because he held that every freeman should have the vote.—Petition of John Ritchie, Frederick County, Oct. 18, 1788. Executive papers, Hall of Records. (Incorrectly attributed to Queen Anne's County in J. R. Pole, "Suffrage . . . in Maryland . . .," *loc. cit.*, 221.)

But it is surely one of the most striking facts about the history of these developments that the complex and carefully guarded constitutional structure of Maryland gave way before the democracy of the great sea-port city of Baltimore a full generation earlier than the defences of the old order in Virginia were reduced by forces which sprang from the settlement of the West.

MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS, 1790 TO 1812

By J. R. POLE and J. R. HELLER III

The following table supersedes that published in the *Journal of Southern History*, XXIV (May, 1958), n. 2, 223-225.

We would like to acknowledge the patient assistance of Mr Gust Skordas, of the Hall of Records. Professor Richard P. McCormick has kindly compared this tabulation with copies in his own possession, has offered several corrections and filled in some missing figures, including most of the presidential returns for 1812. If any mistakes have survived either in copying, in arithmetic or in method, they are our own.

The statistical method remains as described in earlier notes, e.g., *J. S. H. May*, 1958, p. 223 n. 23. The population figures for the years before 1800, which are very inadequately broken down by the first U. S. Census, have been inferred by a method of extrapolation from the demographic tendency through three census returns, those of 1790, 1800 and 1810. It is impossible to arrive at conclusive figures on the basis of the early census returns, and the most that can be claimed for these, especially between 1790 and 1800, is that they are reasonable approximations. They are in any case adequate to the purpose of generalising about participation in elections, where broad inferences are more important than minute detail.

All the voting particulars have been taken from returns in the Executive Papers in the Hall of Records.

Population figures are from the United States census returns.

MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS 1790-1814

Year	County	Free Adult White Males	Total Free Adult Male popn.	Election	Votes	% F. A. W. M.	% Total
1790	Allegheny	886	—	Con.	408	46	—
	Anne Arundel	2,336	—	"	166	7	—
	Baltimore Town	3,072	—	"	3048	99	—
	Baltimore County	4,214	—	"	2486	57	—
	Calvert	880	—	"	238	27	—
	Caroline	1,365	—	"	690	50	—
	Cecil	2,236	—	"	901	40	—
	Charles	2,184	—	"	1018	46	—
	Dorchester	2,087	—	"	549	26	—
	Frederick	5,610	—	"	688	12	—
	Harford	2,352	—	"	1285	54	—
	Kent	1,428	—	"	635	44	—
	Montgomery	2,592	—	"	1419	54	—
	Prince George's	2,113	—	"	975	46	—
	Queen Anne's	1,681	—	"	499	29	—
	St. Mary's	1,819	—	"	380	20	—
	Somerset	1,760	—	"	181	10	—
	Talbot	1,512	—	"	297	19	—
	Washington	3,040	—	"	1152	37	—
	Worcester	1,600	—	"	280	17	—
1792	Allegheny	1,021	—	Con.	148	14	—
	Anne Arundel	2,350	—	"	1,275	54	—
	Baltimore Town	3,422	—	"	1,209	35	—
	Baltimore County	4,500	—	"	1,433	31	—
	Calvert	858	—	"	493	57	—
	Caroline	1,370	—	"	497	36	—
	Cecil	2,094	—	"	1,204	57	—
	Charles	2,128	—	"	1,166	55	—
	Dorchester	2,041	—	"	582	28	—
	Frederick	5,611	—	"	438	7	—
	Harford	2,390	—	"	1,166	49	—
	Kent	1,388	—	"	765	55	—
	Montgomery	2,432	—	"	1,119	46	—
	Prince George's	2,069	—	"	1,192	57	—
	Queen Anne's	1,655	—	"	1,119	67	—

MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS 1790-1814 (*Continued*)

Year	County	Free Adult White Males	Total Free Adult Male popn.	Election	Votes	% F. A. W. M.	% Total
1794	St. Mary's	1,739	—	"	514	29	—
	Somerset	1,784	—	"	256	14	—
	Talbot	1,516	—	"	1,066	71	—
	Washington	3,126	—	"	321	10	—
	Worcester	1,756	—	"	778	44	—
	Allegheny	978	—	Con.	679	69	—
	Anne Arundel	2,364	—	"	1,141	48	—
	Baltimore Town	3,772	—	"	160	4	—
	Baltimore County	4,786	—	"	43	1	—
	Calvert	836	—	"	578	69	—
	Caroline	1,377	—	"	530	38	—
	Cecil	1,952	—	"	1,289	66	—
	Charles	2,072	—	"	1,264	61	—
	Dorchester	1,995	—	"	1,176	59	—
	Frederick	5,612	—	"	924	16	—
	Harford	2,428	—	"	1,256	51	—
	Kent	1,348	—	"	695	51	—
	Montgomery	2,272	—	"	1,102	48	—
	Prince George's	2,025	—	"	635	31	—
	Queen Anne's	1,629	—	"	1,004	61	—
1796	St. Mary's	1,659	—	"	525	31	—
	Somerset	1,808	—	"	468	25	—
	Talbot	1,520	—	"	651	42	—
	Washington	3,212	—	"	1,211	37	—
	Worcester	1,912	—	"	699	36	—
	Allegheny	1,024	—	Pres.	649	63	—
	Anne Arundel	2,378	—	"	390	16	—
	Baltimore Town	4,122	—	"	765	18	—
	Baltimore County	5,072	—	"	731	14	—
	Calvert	814	—	"	266	32	—
	Caroline	1,383	—	"	162	11	—
	Cecil	1,810	—	"	392	21	—
	Charles	2,016	—	"	442	21	—
	Dorchester	1,949	—	"	583	29	—
	Frederick	5,613	—	"	1,917	34	—
	Harford	2,460	—	"	618	25	—
	Kent	1,308	—	"	774	59	—
	Montgomery	2,112	—	"	1,310	62	—

MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS 1790-1814 (*Continued*)

Year	County	Free Adult White Males	Total Free Adult Male popn.	Election	Votes	% F. A. W. M.	% Total
1800	Prince George's	1,981	—	"	1,226	62	—
	Queen Anne's	1,603	—	"	538	33	—
	St. Mary's	1,579	—	"	419	25	—
	Somerset	1,832	—	"	24	1	—
	Talbot	1,524	—	"	581	38	—
	Washington	3,298	—	"	2,035	61	—
	Worcester	2,068	—	"	133	6	—
	Allegheny	1,115	1,140	Pres.	571	51	50
	Anne Arundel	2,406	2,796	"	1,218	50	43
	Baltimore Town	4,820	5,512	"	1,935	40	35
	Baltimore County	5,641	6,014	"	1,077	19	17
	Calvert	768	844	"	221	28	26
	Caroline	1,392	1,542	"	560	40	36
	Cecil	1,524	1,617	"	1,015	66	62
	Charles	1,904	2,046	"	621	32	30
	Dorchester	1,858	2,449	"	850	45	30
	Frederick	5,614	5,732	"	3,808	68	66
	Harford	2,539	2,875	"	808	31	28
	Kent	1,230	1,676	"	758	61	45
	Montgomery	1,788	1,853	"	1,267	71	68
	Prince George's	1,893	2,055	"	1,192	63	58
	Queen Anne's	1,555	1,811	"	824	53	45
	Somerset	1,881	2,027	"	302	16	14
	St. Mary's	1,421	1,576	"	340	24	21
	Talbot	1,536	1,933	"	689	44	35
	Washington	3,471	3,556	"	2,122	61	59
	Worcester	2,379	2,491	"	530	22	21
1801	Allegheny	1,130	1,155	Con.	641	56	55
	Anne Arundel	2,421	2,854	"	1,189	49	41
	Baltimore Town	5,253	6,013	"	1,254	23	20
	Baltimore County	5,538	5,912	"	460	8	7
	Calvert	768	847	"	387	50	45
	Caroline	1,392	1,552	"	261	18	16
	Cecil	1,599	1,706	"	407	25	23
	Charles	1,871	2,009	"	805	43	40
	Dorchester	1,876	2,474	"	343	18	13
	Frederick	5,652	5,777	"	2,561	45	44
	Harford	2,585	2,943	"	909	35	30

MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS 1790-1814 (*Continued*)

Year	County	Free Adult White Males	Total Free Adult Male popn.	Election	Votes	% F. A. W. M.	% Total
1803	Kent	1,230	1,681	"	286	23	17
	Montgomery	1,819	1,894	"	850	47	45
	Prince George's	1,846	2,115	"	954	51	45
	Queen Anne's	1,567	1,860	"	405	25	21
	St. Mary's	1,407	1,562	"	339	24	21
	Somerset	1,928	2,040	"	285	14	14
	Talbot	1,540	1,948	"	220	14	11
	Washington	3,462	3,551	"	2,052	59	57
	Worcester	2,383	2,510	"	269	11	10
	Allegheny	1,160	1,185	Con.	952	82	80
	Anne Arundel						
	Baltimore Town						
	and County	11,453	11,925	"	8,284	72	69
	Calvert	769	853	"	607	79	71
	Caroline	1,392	1,572	"	653	47	41
	Cecil	1,748	1,884	"	782	44	41
	Charles	1,804	1,935	"	1,063	59	55
	Dorchester	1,912	2,524	"	681	35	27
	Frederick	5,728	5,867	"	4,728	82	80
	Harford	2,676	3,079	"	1,821	68	59
	Kent	1,230	1,691	"	625	50	36
	Montgomery	1,880	1,976	"	1,369	72	69
	Prince George's	1,752	2,235	"	940	53	42
	Queen Anne's	1,592	1,976	"	892	56	45
	St. Mary's	1,379	1,534	"	509	36	33
	Somerset	1,921	2,066	"	580	30	28
	Talbot	1,548	1,978	"	595	38	30
	Washington	3,444	3,541	"	2,505	73	71
	Worcester	2,390	2,548	"	584	24	23
1804	Allegheny	1,175	1,200	Con.	341	29	28
	Anne Arundel	2,527	3,208	"	900	35	28
	Baltimore Town						
	and County	11,784	13,122	"	2,888	24	22
	Calvert	770	856	"	322	41	37
	Caroline	1,393	1,582	"			
	Cecil	1,823	1,973	"	382	21	19
	Charles	1,770	1,898	"	304	17	16
	Dorchester	1,930	2,549	"	1,002	52	39

MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS 1790-1814 (*Continued*)

Year	County	Free Adult White Males	Total Free Adult Male popn.	Election	Votes	% F. A. W. M.	% Total
1806	Frederick	5,765	5,912	"			
	Harford	2,721	3,147	"	1,272	46	40
	Kent	1,230	1,696	"	389	31	22
	Montgomery	1,911	2,017	"	918	48	45
	Prince George's	1,705	2,295	"	704	41	30
	Queen Anne's	1,604	2,031	"	341	21	16
	St. Mary's	1,365	1,520	"	631	46	41
	Somerset	1,918	2,079	"	1,217	63	58
	Talbot	1,553	1,993	"	862	55	43
	Washington	3,435	3,536	"	502	14	14
	Worcester	2,394	2,567	"	2,014	84	78
	Alleghany	1,206	1,230	Con.	496	41	40
	Anne Arundel	2,597	3,144	"	1,820	70	57
	Baltimore Town and County	12,446					
	Calvert	771	862	"	368	47	42
	Caroline	1,393	1,602	"	1,014	72	63
	Cecil	1,973	2,151	"	1,155	59	58
	Charles	1,703	1,822	"	818	48	44
	Dorchester	1,966	2,599	"	1,841	94	71
	Frederick	5,839	6,002	"	3,519	60	58
	Harford	2,813	3,281	"	1,868	66	57
	Kent	1,230	1,706	"	729	59	42
	Montgomery	1,972	2,100	"	1,712	86	81
	Prince George's	1,611	2,414	"	1,432	89	59
	Queen Anne's	1,630	2,140	"	1,009	61	46
	St. Mary's	1,337	1,493	"	529	39	35
	Somerset	1,910	2,105	"	1,203	63	57
	Talbot	1,562	2,021	"	1,200	77	59
	Washington	3,417	3,526	"	2,012	59	57
	Worcester	2,401	2,604	"	1,771	73	68
1808	Alleghany	1,235	1,260	Con.	892	72	70
				Pres.	843	*34	33
	Anne Arundel	2,670	3,260	Con.	1,557	58	47
				Pres.	636	*12	10
	Baltimore Town	8,292	9,523	C.	3,952	47	41
				P.	2,848	*17	15

* See notes to 1812.

MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS 1790-1814 (*Continued*)

Year	County	Free Adult Whites Males	Total Free Adult Male popn.	Election	Votes	% F. A. W. M.	% Total
	Baltimore County	4,811	5,195	C.	3,706	77	71
				P.	1,780	37	34
	Calvert	772	865	C.	783	100+	91
				P.	728	94	84
	Caroline	1,393	1,622	C.	1,099	78	67
				P.	898	64	55
	Cecil	2,122	2,330	C.	1,919	90	82
				P.	881	41	37
	Charles	1,640	1,746	C.	1,111	67	63
				P.	398	24	22
	Dorchester	2,003	2,655	C.	1,047	52	39
				P.	1,014	50	38
				(incomplete)			
	Frederick	5,914	6,095	C.	4,983	84	81
				P.	4,809	*41	40
	Harford	2,905	3,419	C.	1,919	66	56
				P.	1,158	39	33
	Kent	1,229	1,713	C.	1,154	93	67
				P.	467	37	27
	†Montgomery	2,034	2,185	C.	1,559	77	71
	Prince George's	1,516	2,534	C.	1,396	92	55
				P.	1,154	76	45
	Queen Anne's	1,651	2,251	C.	1,344	81	59
				P.	431	26	19
	St. Mary's	1,308	1,465	C.	713	54	48
				P.	321	24	21
	Somerset	1,890	2,131	C.	1,001	52	46
				P.	741	39	34
	Talbot	1,572	2,050	C.	1,281	81	62
				P.	1,057	67	51
	Washington	3,400	3,516	C.	2,568	75	73
				P.	2,590	*38	37
	Worcester	2,410	2,641	C.	1,460	60	55
				P.	864	35	32
1810	Alleghany	1,266	1,294	Con.	317	25	24
	Anne Arundel	2,738	3,376	"	1,669	61	49

* } See notes to 1812.
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MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS 1790-1814 (*Continued*)

Year	County	Free Adult White Males	Total Free Adult Male popn.	Election	Votes	% F. A. W. M.	% Total
1812	Baltimore Town	9,158	10,525	"	5,075	36	32
	Baltimore County	4,611	4,995	"			
	Calvert	773	870	"	386	50	44
	Caroline	1,394	1,644	"	893	64	54
	Cecil	2,272	2,508	"	1,022	45	40
	Charles	1,569	1,672	"	567	41	39
	Dorchester	2,038	2,704	"	938	46	34
	Harford	2,997	3,552	"	1,401	47	39
	Kent	1,229	1,723	"	511	41	29
	Montgomery	2,096	2,265	"	374	17	16
	Prince George's	1,423	2,654	"	1,369	96	51
	Queen Anne's	1,681	2,365	"	665	39	28
	St. Mary's	1,279	1,438	"	457	35	31
	Somerset	1,894	2,158	"	572	30	26
	Talbot	1,580	2,080	"	781	49	37
	Washington	3,382	3,502	"	757	22	21
	Worcester	2,416	2,679	"	1,890	78	71
	All-g'hany	1,344	1,372	Con.	1,085	80	79
				Pres.	950	*35	34
	Anne Arundel	2,816	3,474	C.	2,127	75	61
				P.	1,266	*23	18
	Baltimore Town	9,576	11,105	P.	3,467	*18	16
				C.	4,273	44	38
	Baltimore County	4,793	5,211	C.	4,966	100+	95
				P.	2,394	50	45
	Calvert	780	888	P.	599	76	67
				C.	367	47	41
	Caroline	1,406	1,664	P.	1,111	79	66
				C.	1,245	88	75
	Cecil	2,346	2,620	P.	1,549	66	59
				C.	972	41	37
	Charles	1,596	1,650	P.	451	28	27
				C.	1,189	74	72
	Dorchester	2,061	2,704	P.	1,113	54	41
				C.	1,927	93	71

* Under the election law of 1806, ch. XCVII, these counties were arranged in districts each of which chose two electors, so that each voter was entitled to cast two votes. The per centage figures have accordingly been halved.

MARYLAND ELECTION STATISTICS 1790-1814 (*Continued*)

Year	County	Free Adult White Males	Total Free Adult Male popn.	Election	Votes	% F. A. W. M.	% Total
	Frederick	6,242	6,509	P.	4,717	*38	36
				C.	5,500	88	84
	Harford	2,917	3,424	P.	1,410	48	41
				C.	1,602	55	46
	Kent	1,219	1,709	P.	984	80	57
				C.	576	47	33
	†Montgomery	2,010	2,255	C.	1,564	77	69
				P.	1,109	73	43
	Prince George's	1,512	2,544	C.	1,539	100+	60
				P.	1,127	65	49
	Queen Anne's	1,719	2,293	C.	1,182	68	51
				P.	311	24	21
	St. Mary's	1,287	1,448	C.	517	40	35
				P.	766	39	33
	Somerset	1,942	2,252	C.	1,545	79	68
				P.	1,392	87	67
	Talbot	1,596	2,076	C.	1,446	90	69
				P.	2,304	*32	31
	Washington	3,554	3,676	C.	2,910	81	79
				P.	988	41	35
	Worcester	2,396	2,681	C.	1,930	80	71

†Under the election law of 1806, Montgomery County was divided between a district electing one, and a district electing two electors, making it impossible to infer the number of voters from the number of votes cast.

THE CAUSES OF THE MARYLAND REVOLUTION OF 1689 *

By MICHAEL G. KAMMEN

1. A GENERATION OF CONFLICT

AN event so sweeping as a revolution does not flare up by spontaneous combustion. Certainly in Maryland there had been elements smouldering and tempers burning for several decades prior to 1689. One need only point to the spasmodic outbursts which occurred in 1659, 1676, and 1681. Although the details are beyond the scope of this study, it should be noted that there was continuity both in issues and in the nature of the membership of the factions involved—a continuity which began roughly two decades after the founding of Maryland and which lasted into the eighteenth century.

The two opposing factions are hereafter called the Proprietary Party and the Party of Resistance. The latter term refers essentially to the leaders of the revolution and their immediate following. The general population was far too poor, isolated, uneducated, and consequently apathetic, to be politically active. The Party of Resistance was one degree removed economically, socially, and politically from the provincial sources of authority. Following the revolution many of the insurgent leaders displaced the provincial elite, filling the vacancy left by those forcibly turned out, and struggling in turn to retain their grasp of the newly won authority.

Those who made the revolution did not consciously object to the abstract evil of an outworn and archaic polity, but rather to injustices which grew out of it and affected them directly. The friction sparked by these injustices was basically irreconcilable because the Proprietary Party rooted its claims in the charter, whereas the Party of Resistance stressed the precedents set by the House of Commons and the rights of seventeenth century English-

* Inscribed to the Memory of David Perry Steinman.

men. Nor did the insurrectionists resent political privilege *per se*—they simply sought to control and channel it in their own direction.

The feudal socio-political order inherent in the Maryland charter was predicated on the assumption of a stable and ordered society. Yet the province was marked by great social mobility, a dynamic feature not easily reconciled with the inflexibility of the charter. And finally, the political reins were held by a small co-opting Catholic minority—an inflammable situation in an age of intolerance.¹

That the rebels were able to achieve such sweeping success so rapidly can only be understood in terms of the issues troubling the province. It should not be expected that each of these issues affected the leaders personally. A successful revolution required two groups personnel-wise: an articulate and aggressive leadership and a discontented populace. It was not essential that each desire the overthrow of the proprietary power for like reasons. The leaders were opportunists and saw the seeds of success in the unhappy province. To gain their ends and promote their interests they advocated the causes of the inhabitants at large. As a consequence, the causes and meaning of the Maryland revolution have eluded the grasp of historians. A comprehensive understanding of its causes must seek both the narrow interests of those who led, as well as the broader interests of those that followed. Of course the two overlap, and frequently coincide, but it is possible to distinguish them.

The following discussion will select and examine certain grievances which were continually found oppressive during the period from the Restoration of Charles II until the overthrow of his brother—to use landmarks most meaningful to the participants in our story. Certain themes may be marked which unite and characterize so many of the issues. The injustices which the inhabitants resented frequently revolved about the arbitrary and unreasonable exercise of the proprietary authority. The problem of "parliamentary privilege" runs as an undercurrent throughout, but perhaps the most striking feature of the issues at stake is their largely

¹ Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 4 vol. (New Haven, 1934-38), II, 327; William A. Reavis, "The Maryland Gentry and Social Mobility 1637-1676," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, XIV (1957), 418-428.

procedural nature. Procedure appears to weigh equally with substance as a bone of contention, but only because procedure was so often the prologue and pathway to the real cynosure—control of the sources of provincial power.

Other writers have sufficiently proved that favoritism and nepotism were rife in Maryland government during this period. The council has correctly been called a family ring and office-holding a family affair. The proprietor distributed offices heavily to his relatives who were predominantly Roman Catholic. The claim of the Protestant Association in 1689 that the Catholics held the offices of "trust, profit, and honor" irrespective of their qualifications was not unreasonable. Appointments of Protestants to major offices were unusual and largely token gestures. And then, they were most often bound to the interests of the Proprietary Party through generous land grants and ties of marriage.² The Calverts controlled their party through patronage and land distribution.³

The years after 1670 witnessed a heavy increase in settlement and a corresponding desire on the part of the proprietor to increase his revenue. In 1680 Charles Calvert established a land office and in 1684 he created a land council of four members, all Catholic and all members of the provincial council. He authorized the land council to determine all matters relating to land, and two of its members, the secretaries of the province, he empowered to issue land warrants and sign grants. The entire council was instructed with regard to escheats, surveying, rents, leases, and caveats. In this way the distribution and regulation of land was kept tightly in the grasp of the Proprietary party.

The use of patronage caused the greatest bitterness.⁴ Accounts

² For example, Thomas Taylor and Benjamin Rozer were both Protestant members of the council in 1680. Three extensive land grants were made to the former and Rozer received a 2,000 acre chunk on one occasion; "The Calvert Papers," *Maryland Historical Society Fund Publications*, No. 28 (Baltimore, 1889), pp. 77, 259.

³ Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage, Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953), *passim*; C. M. Andrews, *Period*, II, 333; Francis E. Sparks, *Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689*, (*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, series XIV, Nos. 11-12, 1896), 48-49, 64, 87, 90, 93, 99; "Maryland's Grevances Wiy The Have Taken Op Arms," Beverly McAnear, ed. *Journal of Southern History*, VIII, 1942, 397.

⁴ Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (N. Y., 1901), p. 60; John Kilty, *The Land-Holder's Assistant and Land Office Guide* (Baltimore, 1808), pp. 108-117; *Archives of Maryland*, 67 vol., William H. Browne, and others, eds. (Baltimore, 1883-1956), XVII, 254-260. (Older secondary works may refer to

of the proprietor's use of this power reached England and in 1681 the Lords of Trade and Plantations even wrote to Lord Baltimore that "We are informed that very few of the King's Protestant subjects are admitted to the council of Maryland, and that there is partiality and favour shown . . . to Papists to the discouragement of the Protestants." Calvert was also upbraided for favoring Catholics over Protestants in the distribution of arms and ammunition for Indian defense. Fearful lest they be used against him, the proprietor denied arms to many settlers at the very time when they were clamoring for more adequate Indian protection.⁵

The Party of Resistance expressed continued resentment at its lack of control over office-holding, and the lower house in particular wanted greater supervision over appointments and fees. Through crucial offices the Calverts were able to maintain control on all provincial levels. Friction inevitably developed between the parties over these strategic offices.

Just such an office was that of sheriff, the plum of local patronage. The sheriff served all writs and warrants, took bail from the accused, inflicted all required punishments and imprisoned criminals. He collected all taxes, rents, revenues, forfeitures, fines, and served as escheator for the proprietor. Writs of election were issued through him, and he conducted the election and made the returns. He received ten percent of all he collected and was responsible to the proprietor alone. There lay the problem. He was entirely beyond the jurisdiction of the county courts, the nuclei of the disaffected Party of Resistance.⁶

It is not difficult to envision the sheriff as an unpopular man, particularly when beyond the control of those whose lives he affected. Complaints against abusive actions by sheriffs were frequent, and it was the expressed and explicit desire of the lower house to make the sheriff less independent and more responsible to the county courts. Many, many of the inhabitants cried out at the confiscation of their tobacco by hasty and greedy sheriffs.⁷ Several illustrations may indicate the problem more clearly.

the unpublished manuscript books. Only the published volumes have been used for this study and are referred to hereafter as *Arch. Md.*)

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, 1681-1685*, J. W. Fortescue, and others, eds. (London, 1860-1934), # 256. (Referred to hereafter as *C. S. P.*)

⁶ *Arch. Md.*, III, 147; Cyrus H. Karraker, *The Seventeenth Century Sheriff* (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 142; Sparks, *Causes*, 25-6.

⁷ John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, 2 vol. (Boston, 1897), II, 153-4; For examples see *Arch. Md.*, I, 260, 289, 308, 360, 369; VII, 286-7.

In 1666 the speaker of the lower house received a complaint from a member of that house that he was sitting illegally because at a court held for Baltimore County the clerk and sheriff (the same man occupied both positions) held a rapid and premature election at which few were present. According to the distressed delegate (apparently sitting on his own initiative) the choice of burgesses ran contrary to the real intent of the people owing to the improper action of the sheriff.⁸

In 1671 charges were brought by the lower house against Richard Tilghman, sheriff of Talbot County, for levying and exacting from the residents more tobacco than was due as set by the county commissioners; for extorting fees from the inhabitants of the county, for "commencing vexatious suits" against several of the inhabitants; and for levying from John Ingram in taxes his entire stock of corn raised to sustain his family for one year (The last in spite of an act of assembly providing for such cases).⁹

This same controversial office was also the touchstone for abstract disputes over points of constitutional law. The proprietor vested authority in the sheriff by means of two or more indentures to issue writs and summon the elected burgesses. The lower house felt this suggested that the power and consent for the burgesses was derived from the sheriff, whereas they felt the power of the delegates to the assembly was "only from the freemen by their Delegation."¹⁰

However, any effort to regulate the office of sheriff was checked, as in 1669, when the lower house was told that the appointment of sheriffs was a power belonging to the proprietor alone and that no act might be passed to the contrary. This announcement was made shortly after the lower house had passed an act "Providing Against Sheriffs Taking Excessive Fees."¹¹

Unreasonable action on the part of the proprietor with regard to elections was also a source of conflict. Before 1670 all freemen could vote. In that year the proprietor restricted the franchise to holders of 50 acres or £40 sterling in real property. Since this was not legislated, it must have appeared as a sheer assumption of prerogative. At any rate, it became more of a problem as the rising number of indentured servants fulfilled their obligations and swelled the ranks of the freeman class. In 1683, for example,

⁸ *Arch. Md.*, II, 74.

⁹ *Arch. Md.*, II, 247.

¹⁰ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 452-3.

¹¹ *Arch. Md.*, II, 192, 197, 200.

efforts by the lower house to gain the suffrage for all freemen were balked by the upper house.¹²

Another election issue aroused a greater furor. It was customary for the proprietor to issue writs authorizing the election of four delegates per county. Nevertheless, on numerous occasions he summoned only two of the duly elected four. This occurred in 1671, 1676, and 1681. In 1678 the lower house passed an act providing for four delegates per county, but the proprietor refused to honor it, and in 1681 issued a proclamation setting the number permanently at two. Nor did the proprietor summon half of those elected with consistency. Used sporadically it served as a convenient device to rid the Calverts of troublemakers in the assembly. The session of 1669, for example, had been most acrimonious. Yet the half-dozen years that followed were harmonious, very possibly because the proprietor was able to eliminate many of the agitators. By prorogation of the assembly from 1671 until 1676, Calvert prevented new elections from being held and his opponents from returning to active, official political life until 1676. As agents of the proprietor and responsible for issuing the summons to assembly, the sheriffs shared with Lord Baltimore the hatred aroused by this issue.¹³

Still another problem links the questions of offices and parliamentary privilege. It centered on the right of the speaker of the lower house to issue warrants to fill vacancies in that house. The procedure in the House of Commons was for the speaker to issue the warrants to the clerk of the crown. The lower house professed its ignorance of any comparable officer to whom warrants might be issued in Maryland. Consequently they requested that the proprietor appoint such an officer. In 1681 the lower house stated that there were thirteen vacancies because of death and illness, and resolved that the speaker should issue warrants to fill these places according to the "Diverse and Manifold Presidents of

¹² Sparks, *Causes*, 50; Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, 154; C. M. Andrews, *Period*, II, 339; Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, 3 vol. (N. Y., 1907), III, 483-4.

¹³ *Arch. Md.*, II, 241; Sparks, *Causes*, 51, 89; Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689*, W. H. Stephenson and E. M., Coulter, eds., *A History of the South*, 10 vols. (Baton Rouge, 1949), I, 411; *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690*, Charles M. Andrews, ed., *Original Narratives of Early American History* (N. Y., 1915), 307; *Arch. Md.*, VII, 118, 122, 126, 134, 333, 345, 455; II, 241; VIII, 225; C. M. Andrews, *Period*, II, 339-342.

the Lower House of Parliament in England . . . the only Sure Rule for this house to Act by in this and all other their Proceedings." This apparently never became effective because in 1683 the upper house passed an ordinance providing that in case of death in the lower house, either commissioners, the sheriff, or the surviving delegate of the country should issue the new writ to the secretary to fill the vacancy. The lower house replied to this proposal that such notice might be neglected or might be insufficient to prevent a person from remaining a member who should not—a most revealing reply. It indicated that the lower house was basically seeking control over its own membership. It is significant that this statement came on the heels of two controversies: one over the seating of John Coode in the lower house and the other over the impeachment of Jacob Young by that same body. This problem arose again in 1688 along with many others of equally long standing.¹⁴

In 1681 the proprietor issued an ordinance "concerning elections" which embodied many of the issues thus far discussed and which indicated their unity, rather than their discreteness. The document asserted that election writs were to be issued from the Court of Chancery to the sheriffs, directing the election of two delegates per county. In case of a vacancy by death, application was to be made to the secretary to have an election writ issued from the Court of Chancery. No sheriff was to be elected. Through this unilateral device the proprietor effectively reduced popular representation, eliminated an opportunity for the lower house to control its own membership, insured the power and independence of the sheriffs and their control by the Proprietary Party, and implied that representation was a privilege granted from the top, not a right inherent in the bottom of the system.¹⁵

One of the most keenly felt causes of unrest in Maryland lay in the status of legislation within the province. During the quarter-century preceding 1689 one grievance stands out owing to the great consternation it consistently caused; there was no time limit on the proprietor's veto. He denied legislation years after it had problem. One facet is the procedural device itself: the injustice been passed an put into effect. The result was a double-barreled

¹⁴ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 114-115, 119-120, 123-127, 453.

¹⁵ Sparks, *Causes*, 85; for the bitter reaction of the lower house to this see *Arch. Md.*, VII, 452-3.

of repealing laws by which a group has regulated its life for years. Another lies in the character of the very legislation at stake. Why did the lower house feel certain laws desirable and necessary, and why did the proprietor feel it equally essential to reject them?¹⁶

At the commencement of the session of the general assembly of 1669 Lord Baltimore vetoed certain acts passed at the sessions of 1663 through 1666. The first was an act for quieting possession of land and regulating its future conveyance. This was designed to benefit the small landholder by maintaining the spirit, rather than the letter of the law. It relaxed legal technicalities, providing, for example, that five years quiet possession was sufficient title to land. A second act, for appointing a public notary, represented an attempt to localize control over official papers and documents by making it unnecessary to send to England for certification. A third was an act for the preservation of orphans' estates. Not only was this intended to provide legal protection for orphans, but of larger significance, it would have made wills and testaments inviolable by the judges and courts. A fourth act, for controlling arrests and summonses by sheriffs and a rule for entering and filing actions and petitions, illustrates again the need felt by the Marylanders to regularize the actions of the sheriffs by making them more responsible to the people. An act for proceedings at law stated that in the absence of provincial law to govern a situation, English law was to apply. An act providing what shall be good evidence upon bills and bonds from England was geared to protect the settlers from unsubstantiated suits from abroad. Still another disallowed by the proprietor concerned the payment of debts due by bill. Apparently, many bills once paid were re-presented to debtors. The act therefore provided that no bill or bond would be allowed three years after the day it was judged.¹⁷ It does not seem unfair to observe that these laws were in the interest of the people at large. They were vetoed because they loomed as minatory to the *doyens* of the Proprietary Party.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Arch. Md.*, II, 168; XIII, 171; VIII, 102-103; McAnear, "Grevances," 398; *Arch. Md.*, VII, 152.

¹⁷ *Arch. Md.*, II, 157; I, 487, 498-99, 493, 504, 502, 647.

¹⁸ The cumulative effect of the proprietor's veto should also be noted. Immediately after being notified of Calvert's dissent to these laws, the lower house requested a copy of the charter for their examination. At the following session the lower house retaliated by attempting to reduce the governor's export duty on

In 1684 the proprietor vetoed *all* the laws passed at the productive session of 1678—a total of eighteen acts. To mention a few is to explain why: an act directing the manner of electing and summoning delegates and representatives in assemblies (regularizing the procedure as the lower house desired); an act for recording all laws of the province in the secretary's office (" . . . considering the many mischiefs Errors and inconveniencies which did arise and were Comitted in this Province by reason the Lawes were not ascertained what were lawes or what lawes Continued Repealed and unrepealed. . . ."); an act for the election of sheriffs ("Forasmuch as there haue lately been great Complaints Generally made from all part of this Province of the great absurdities and abuses Comitted by severall Sherriffes of this Province upon severall Inhabitants of the same. . . ."); an act for appeals and regulating writs of error ("Forasmuch as the liberty of appeales from Judgments of County Courtes heretofore granted by an Act of the Generall Assembly of this Province Entituled an act to prevent vneccessary delayes of Execucōns is found to be of great vse ease and benefitt to the people of this Province Butt the said Act is not soe full and cleerly drawn in some particulars thereof as the same ought to be. . . ."); an act for limiting county clerk's fees (" . . . multiplicity of suites and actions are moved and stirred in the . . . County Courts to the great profits of the Clerkes thereof in their fees. . . .").¹⁹

In the light of the foregoing it is not difficult to sympathize with the statement in the Declaration of the Protestant Association in 1689 that "our Laws, whereby our Liberty and Property subsists, are subject to . . . Arbitrary Disposition, and if timely Remedy be not had, must stand or fall according to his Lordship's Good Will and Pleasure."²⁰

Several of the acts cited above relate to issues already discussed, while others foreshadow problems to come. One such problem is suggested by the title of the act for reviving and confirming certain laws.²¹ Laws passed were to be valid for three years or

tobacco. The proprietor then countered by restricting the franchise. Emotions and antagonisms were heightened in this way (Sparks, *Causes*, 45).

¹⁹ *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 108; XVII, 261; All the acts vetoed will be found in VII, 51-105.

²⁰ *Arch. Md.*, VIII, 103.

²¹ The following discussion may raise more questions than it resolves. Unfortunately the *Archives* are often suggestive but rarely definitive. I can only offer a few sketchy conclusions which the records seem to indicate.

until the end of the next general assembly. Because there was not continuity in legislation, it was necessary at the end of each session to revive all former laws the delegates wished to see continued. Moreover, there was technically a distinction between perpetual and temporary laws. In order to lend a law permanent status, however, the proprietor had to assent to it as such. This he rarely did because he was able to veto temporary laws at any time, whereas laws he had assented to in perpetuity could only be repealed with the consent of the assembly. A by-product of this problem was the resulting uncertainty as to what laws the proprietor had actually accepted. For instance, in 1674 the lower house sent a curious query to the upper asking what laws the proprietor had approved since 1659.²² There remain several other reasons why the Marylanders were uncertain of the laws under which they lived.

The proprietor consistently did all in his power to keep the people ignorant of the contents of his charter, as well as what laws were in effect at any given time. The lower house constantly sent messengers to the upper in quest of a copy of the laws.²³ Although the upper house usually complied with the request, it is significant that the lower house was never allowed to keep its own copy of the provincial statutes or the charter. In addition, in 1681 Lord Baltimore dissented to the repeal of the Act Prohibiting the Sale of his Lordship's Ordinance which had been passed in 1678. As a result of such tergiversation people smuggled out copies of the charter, the seriousness of which was indicated in 1683 by an act pending, which would prohibit the "Imbezelling his Lōps Ordinance."²⁴

There were continual efforts of various kinds to overcome ignorance of the provincial law. In 1669, for example, the lower house initiated an "Act for the publication of all the laws now in force." As one further facet of this same problem, one might note that in 1684, shortly before his departure for England, Calvert instructed the secretary to carefully keep the laws of the province from all persons "that they shouldn't be endangered or damaged."²⁵

²² *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 123; VII, 188; XIII, 4, 94; II, 374.

²³ And with remarkable tact and diplomacy. The lower house usually asked to see the charter so that they might not "infringe his Lordship's Prerogative"! *Arch. Md.*, II, 341; see also II, 119, 159.

²⁴ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 188; 603.

²⁵ *Arch. Md.*, II, 189; XIII, 109.

The greatest concern of the Party of Resistance, however, *was* the use of the veto power, and it is necessary to return to this in another form. In 1681 the lower house stated its desire that all laws made at the preceding session (1678) should not be repealed, abrogated, voided, or vetoed without its consent. They concluded by saying that

Nothing can or ought to be Satisfactory to us, or to the Freemen of this Province (whom we Represent) unless we are Ascertained of the Validity force and Continuance of the Laws of this Province under which we live, and from whence we Expect protection and Safety and to the enacting of which we have been and Still are lyable to So much Trouble & Expense ²⁶

The Marylanders frequently requested that the proprietor designate an officer empowered to assent to laws (or veto them) in his absence. They simply did not want their laws disapproved years after they had become effective. Calvert and the upper house continually denied such requests, stating that that power belonged to the proprietor alone. The lower house then tried another approach. In 1684 Lord Baltimore was asked for a guarantee that in his absence from the province he would indicate his opinion of laws within eighteen months. Calvert admitted that he had agreed to this request three years earlier, but that he now felt he could not bind his heirs who might need 20 months to decide. Therefore, *he* would require three years before making public *his* attitude to the laws passed! ²⁷

The law caused one more sore spot between the opposing parties. The upper house refused the request of the lower to have all the laws of England in force in the province without reservation. This would appear to be another instance of the Party of Resistance seeking a closer tie to the Crown in order to avoid the arbitrary fiat of the proprietor. The upper house gave as cause for its disapproval the fact that English laws were so voluminous and often repealed, unknown to the American colonials. Therefore, they contended, the lower house should realize how unsafe it would be for the Maryland judges to proceed against criminals by such uncertain laws. In 1684 Lord Baltimore told the lower house that "It is not safe to have Justice administered According

²⁶ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 160-161.

²⁷ Sparks, *Causes*, 45; *Arch. Md.*, VII, 181-182; XIII, 40, 94.

to the lawes of England." He added that where the provincial laws were silent, English law might be applied, subject, however, to the interpretation of the "Justices of *my* Court." Under these circumstances it would not be illogical for the Marylanders to have felt that political security lay in closer ties to the mother country. Close ties demanded the demise of the proprietary power.²⁸

An interesting undercurrent of a more complex nature pervaded the period under consideration and added heat to the friction between the houses of the general assembly. Charles Barker has written of the problem of parliamentary privilege that

The elected houses of all the colonial assemblies—whatever their individual differences—shared a common language of agreement in asserting their ambition for power. It was the language of English constitutionalism or parliamentarianism, which had matured and gained currency in the course of the seventeenth century at home. Maryland excelled in its use. As early as 1638 the assembly declared that the members should have 'powers, privileges, authority, and jurisdiction' similar to those of the House of Commons. . . .²⁹

In various ways the lower house attempted to imitate parliament and follow its traditions. Each session began with the presentation of the speaker to the governor, just as the speaker of Commons was presented to the king. Standing committees were established with names and functions similar to those of Parliament. Officials were elected and rules adopted on the English pattern. It is true, of course, that they knew no other model, but there was a value in such imitation—it lent overtones of parliamentary power.³⁰

In 1661 Governor Philip Calvert assured the lower house that it had all the privileges of a parliament in England. In 1669, however, Governor Charles Calvert took the opposite view when antagonized by the lower house. He told that body they were

not to Conceive that their privileges run parallel to the Commons in the Parliament in England, for that they have no power to meet except by Virtue of my Lords Charter, so that if they in any way infringe that they destroy themselves; for if no Charter there is no assembly, No Assembly no Privileges. . . . Their power is but like the common Council of the

²⁸ *Arch. Md.*, II, 374; XIII, 39.

²⁹ Charles A. Barker, "The Revolutionary Impulse in Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXVI (June, 1941), 129; See also *Arch. Md.*, I, 74, 388.

³⁰ Barker, "Impulse," 129.

City of London which if they act Contrary or to the overthrow of the Charter of the City run into Sedition. . . .

The governor concluded by threatening to dissolve the assembly immediately unless they fell into line.²¹

When asked in 1666 to attend the chamber of the upper house with regard to a bill, the lower house complied but then refused to debate the bill, claiming it was their right and privilege to carry on their discussions in private. In 1669 the upper house wanted to know why the lower house refused to approve a certain act. They were told that it was "against the Privileges of their house to give their Reasons in the Upper House for their disassent to any Bill." In 1676 the upper house asked the lower to bring impeachment charges against an officer. The lower insisted upon the right to consider the punishment as well as the crime. In 1681 the lower house expressed its unhappiness that the proprietor should be surprised at their asserting their rights and privileges from Commons rather than "the imperfect Proceedings of the . . . Colonies" since the former was their inherent right and "Birth-right though born in this Province." They concluded that "his Majesty has Reserved for us the rights and Priviledges of Englishmen . . . [which] . . . We insist upon." Also in 1681, during a dispute over the seating of John Coode in the lower house, that body replied that "this house will take the said message into their Consideration and give his Lordship Such Satisfaction therein as in Justice they ought, not infringing the rights and Priviledges of this house." Following a long and acrimonious session in 1682, the lower house made one of its most radical assertions. It had received a note from the upper saying that the two houses legally represented the freemen of the province. In reply, the lower house resolved that "the Deputies and Delegates chosen by the Freemen of this Province in a General Assembly are the only Representative Body of the Freemen of this Province."²²

²¹ *Arch. Md.*, I, 398; II, 178; VII, 118-119, 492. It is problematical what devices the proprietor used to gain legislation favorable to him. Mereness (*Maryland*, p. 33) states that when the lower house was balky or stubborn, Lord Baltimore would call the body before him and force them to assent to his measures. Mereness does not explain by what means other than verbal chastisement, and I have not been able to throw new light on this question.

²² The Party of Resistance did not stand on parliamentary privilege as a purely abstract or theoretical device. In almost every instance some tangible and very material issue can be seen in the background. For example, with regard to the last case cited, the lower house felt as a consequence that the expenses of the

One final illustration of this theme might be cited. In 1683 two members of the lower house complained that a summons was issued from the Provincial Court to the sheriff of Kent County ordering them to appear before the council on 30 October. This conflicted with their attendance at the assembly, and they believed that they might not be legally summoned until the assembly was prorogued, adjourned, or dissolved. They found their summoning against "the privilege due to members of this house This house Takeing into serious Consideraccōn & finding presidents th^t the members of parliament have priviledge . . . for their persones . . . Dureing th^t time, from suits, Arrests Imprisonm^{ts}. . . ." They concluded "that every member of this house be priviledged in their persones for sixteen dayes exclusive and fifteen dayes Inclusive before and After the sitting of Every sessions of Assembly in such manner as the members of parlament [in] England are priviledged:" The time span of these incidents indicates the persistence of the theme of parliamentary privilege in Maryland politics prior to the revolution.³³

The Party of Resistance also felt that under the existing regime the Crown was not rendered the proper faith and allegiance that was its due. They stressed this particularly in relation to the hindrances placed in the way of the king's customs officers by agents of the proprietor. The reader must realize that loyalty was not the only motivation here. The customs collector was a member of the Party of Resistance and was paid a percentage of his receipts. It was also a source of ill-will that the Marylanders were required to take the oath of fidelity to Lord Baltimore.³⁴

There was another broad context within which the Party of Resistance felt oppressed at the hands of the proprietor. It is intimately related to the problems already reviewed and may be called the maladministration of justice. In the seventeenth century the Maryland courts and court officers were tightly controlled by the Proprietary Party. In the light of what has preceded it should not come as a surprise that justice was often administered to suit

upper house should not be paid from public funds. I do not believe, however, that privilege was purely a front to obscure the real desires. Both substance and procedure seemed to be of equal concern. *Arch. Md.*, II, 41, 190, 474-512; VII, 125-126, 113, 373.

³³ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 572.

³⁴ *Arch. Md.*, V, 271; see later 26-27, 44-45; See also McAnear, "Grevances," 402-403.

the interests of that party. It would be well, therefore, to pause briefly to examine the character of the court system, noting the extent of plural office-holding in particular.³⁵

The justices of the Provincial Court were also members of the upper house, the council, justices of the High Court of Chancery, and the Probate Court. They held office at the pleasure of the proprietor and were so subject to his influence that they were unlikely to displease him by passing decisions unfavorable to his interests. All the justices were also large landholders, and most held lucrative offices not connected with the courts. This duplication of office made it frequently unclear in what capacity a judge was acting. Appeals from the Provincial Court (the governor and council) were sent to the upper house (exactly the same men)! The incongruity of appealing from one group of judges to themselves under a different name did not escape the attention of the legal minds of the province, many of which led the revolution of 1689. To illustrate, one might cite Henry Darnall and William Digges, both judges of probate, commissioners general, members of the council, justices of the provincial court, and keepers of the great seal in 1683. Both of course were relatives of the proprietor.³⁶

The position of secretary was a most important one in the province. The incumbent recorded all grants of land and position and was empowered to probate and record all wills and inventories. He was clerk of the upper house and secretary of the council. Under certain conditions he collected the rents and other proprietary dues and even acted as attorney general on occasion. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the grievances voiced by the Party of Resistance were against unreasonable action on the part of the secretary. Since several leaders of the revolution were active in the courts as legal representatives, many of these grievances affected them personally. For example, it was felt that the exaction of 1200 lbs. of tobacco yearly from practicing attorneys by the secretary was unreasonable.³⁷

Numerous complaints were also directed at the improper con-

³⁵ See especially, *Arch. Md.*, II, 168-9; V, 134-9; XIII, 172-7; VIII, 101-7; McAnear, "Grevances," 392-409.

³⁶ *Arch. Md.*, LXVI, xi; LXV, xi; Carroll T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1928), p. 6; Edith E. MacQueen, "The Commissary in Colonial Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (June, 1930), 194; *Archives*, XVII, 129-130, 360.

³⁷ Sparks, *Causes*, 24-5; McAnear, "Grevances," 400; for example, see later, 38, 42, 44, 48.

duct of the judges in fulfilling their offices. One arose over the probate of wills and will serve to indicate the general nature of these issues. In 1669 the lower house petitioned the upper for redress from the unrest caused by the excessive charges to probate wills and administer small estates. People living far from the offices were forced to travel long distances in order to clear their claims. Consequently small estates were almost wholly consumed in official and travel expenses, leaving little to pay creditors and the debts of the deceased. Often wife and child were left destitute.³⁸

In considering the administration of justice, one other topic of importance remains. An act against mutinous and seditious speeches provided drastic physical punishments for offenders. It left entirely to the judges to interpret what was to be considered seditious, and this was felt unreasonable by the Party of Resistance.³⁹ Because of the close ties between the proprietor and the judges, the inhabitants were obliged to watch their most off-hand remarks very closely. This may help explain the tendency of many nineteenth century historians to view the years preceding the revolution as a quiescent period. Perhaps the outcry against oppression was somewhat muted by the fear of harsh retribution.⁴⁰

An economically distressed group is unquestionably more susceptible to unrest than a prosperous one. When economic restrictions are tightened rather than relaxed during a depressed period, the aggrieved people will be doubly restless and resentful. Such was the situation in Maryland during the quarter-century preceding the revolution. Maryland was dependent upon a tobacco-staple economy which was at the mercy of a fluctuating market and an unreliable currency. As a result the value of the leaf was at rock bottom throughout this period, owing also to overproduction.⁴¹ Attempts to impose restrictions on tobacco production from above

³⁸ *Arch. Md.*, II, 160; McAnear, "Grevances," 399.

³⁹ That the punishments meted out for sedition (e.g., splitting the nose, boring the tongue with a hot iron, imprisonment, banishment, death, and confiscation of goods and lands) were not more severe than elsewhere in that day and age in no way lessens the fact that the Party of Resistance found them partial cause for revolt. The same may be applied to many of the injustices discussed.

⁴⁰ McAnear, "Grevances," 401; *Arch. Md.*, VIII, 104; Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, 153; *CSP, 1681-1685*, # 513; Sparks, *Causes*, 55; *Arch. Md.*, III, 445-449.

⁴¹ Tobacco was generally valued at 1 d. per lb. through this period.

were bound to cause friction, particularly among those farmers whose entire livelihood depended upon the sale of the crop.⁴²

In 1681 a pair of shoes that had previously sold for one hide, cost four. Further evidence of the state of the provincial economy is suggested by the fact that in 1682 corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, peas, pork, beef, and bacon were made legal tender except in payment of rents and public levies. Finally, one should note the legislation passed against fugitives and runaways. There was a steady flow of people departing the province, unable to pay their debts.⁴³

During the generation preceding the revolution, two problems stand out with regard to the tobacco problem. The second in point of time occurred in 1688 and will be discussed in another connection.⁴⁴ The first arose in 1666 over a proposed year cessation in tobacco planting. Cessation was desired by the proprietor (though in this instance he submitted to the force of a contrary public opinion) in order to encourage the production of other commodities. The governor and officers of rank favored cessation because their fees, paid in tobacco, were diminishing in value. The lower house opposed it on several grounds: that cessation would cause a depopulation of the province; that to be effective it must be accepted by all the colonies; that it would discourage merchants from sending their ships to Maryland;⁴⁵ and that the low price of tobacco was not due to overpopulation, but to the insufficient supply of ships to take it away. Although cessation was never put into effect, the heat generated by the fiery arguments over it remained impressed on the minds of the people and particularly the delegates to the lower house—the backbone of the Party of Resistance. This heat would help ignite the conflagration of 1689.⁴⁶

Rather than lighten his monetary demands during these depressed years, the proprietor chose to stiffen them. In 1671 the

⁴² Vertrees J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1936), Chs. 4 and 5.

⁴³ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 222; VII, 321; in 1669, for example, the upper house proposed "an Act Enjoining all Persons that intend to depart this Province to give sufficient Notice of their departure." *Arch. Md.*, II, 188.

⁴⁴ See later.

⁴⁵ Note the recurrence of this fear 22 years later, see later.

⁴⁶ *Arch. Md.*, II, 36-49; It can be said generally of most of these long range problems that they built up a backlog of emotionalism which carried its own weight long after the actual issues slipped into obscurity.

quitrents were doubled at a time when tobacco had suffered a 50% reduction in value. It was also during this period that the proprietor chose to tighten the conditions of settlement. Originally, 100 acres had been granted to anyone who came and settled, with added land for each servant transported. This was reduced to 50 acres, and in 1683 the proprietor ceased to grant land merely on condition of settlement. In that year Lord Baltimore III began to sell land to applicants at the rate of 100 lbs. of tobacco per 50 acres plus the annual quitrent. This rate was soon increased to 120 lbs. and in 1684 was fixed at 480 lbs. As a result of this continuous change and uncertainty the lower house asked that the conditions of plantation be made public.⁴⁷

Land provided still another serious bone of contention. Since all land was held by socage tenure, it was liable to escheat for the lack of an heir or non-payment of rent. Escheat was often resented owing to the poverty in the province. In 1674 the lower house petitioned the proprietor to

assure his Rents some other way than by Escheating Lands in soe short a time as three yeares for the Non Paym^t of Rent & th^t his Lordship would be Pleased to take noe advantage by anie forfeiture th^t is not actually Escheated allreadie by virtue of the law for deserted Plantacons & th^t the Upper house

would concur with the lower in this. The petition went on to condemn the unjust prosecution of cases by the proprietor, particularly when a person's right was good "though the certificate not be of long standing." It concluded with the request that all instructions from the proprietor to the governor concerning land be published and recorded in the county courts within six months after being received by the governor.⁴⁸

Another source of distress with regard to escheat was the tendency of the proprietor to reclaim and regrant land *before* the court inquiry was completed. Such malversation is vital to an understanding of the revolution of 1689 because it so directly affected prominent members of the Party of Resistance.⁴⁹ The premature granting of lands by Lord Baltimore lends weight to the charge that justice was not always equitably administered.

⁴⁷ Mereness, *Maryland*, 34; *Arch. Md.*, V, 63-4, 390-1, 394-5; XVII, 143, 239; VIII, 396; *CSP*, 1681-1683, # 1069.

⁴⁸ *Arch. Md.*, II, 356.

⁴⁹ See later.

During the decade preceding the revolution there was a steady friction between the two parties over a pending act for the advancement of trade which the proprietor desired. It required that all ships trading in the province unload, sell, and barter all imported goods at certain designated points. Moreover, all tobacco exported would have to be brought to these same "ports." London, Bristol, and Glasgow merchants wanted definite trade centers where their factors could establish stores through which could pass the profitable exchange of colonial products for the manufactured goods of the mother country. The act would have been most harmful to the lesser tobacco planters. Any planter with a waterfront had always been able to load tobacco and unload goods directly at his own farm or plantation. The act would have imposed a burdensome expense in time and transportation. Moreover, it would raise the property values of the areas selected, usually the wharfs of the planters already favored by the Calverts with land grants and offices. After prolonged and angry sessions the act was passed, but it never became effective. As V. J. Wyckoff has shown, the very convenience of so many adequate waterways tended to retard the establishment of towns, and the multitude of shipping places made trade and fiscal regulations most difficult to enforce.⁵⁰

The port duties provided another source of conflict during this period. The lower house felt that all ships built in the province and those owned by residents should not be required to pay such duties. They hoped thereby to stimulate the provincial trade. The upper house contended that if the officer's fees for entering and clearing ships were removed it would throw the clerks who performed the work out of jobs.⁵¹ They added that the duties were due the proprietor on every "Tunn Burthen which this house Say is a Perquisite Inherent to his Lordship for the Support of his Government." In 1680 there were about 80 vessels per year visiting Maryland. In 1689 there were only 15 or 16 entering the province yearly. The records are incomplete but the port duties may well have been partially responsible for the reduced commerce.⁵²

⁵⁰ Mereness, *Maryland*, p. 109; *Arch. Md.*, VII, 609, 350, 369, 460, 465, 469, 488; Sparks, *Causes*, 91; Wyckoff, *Regulation*, pp. 86-7.

⁵¹ The Proprietary Party came complete with bureaucracy and spoils!

⁵² Archives, VII, 143-145, 276, 291-2; Vertrees J. Wyckoff, "Ships and Shipping of Seventeenth Century Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXIV (1939), 272. It is significant that at least several of the leaders of the revolution were merchants and/or shipowners. See later, 46, 47.

The gulf between the two parties was dramatized and intensified psychologically by religious differences. That the Proprietary Party was predominantly Catholic and the Party of Resistance predominantly Protestant tended to emotionalize and heighten the more deeply felt political and economic issues at stake. Divisiveness, suspicion, and intolerance mixed with ignorance provided the flint by which such revolutionaries as John Coode could set the Province ablaze.

What issues can be isolated as of a distinctly religious nature? Very few. The complaint recurred on numerous occasions that the provincial government failed to provide support for a Protestant clergy. Although the claim is true in theory, the number of Protestant denominations would have made it difficult to accomplish. The problem of Quakers refusing to take oaths occurred frequently and followed the pattern one would expect—the lower house defended the Quakers against the proprietor's demands as forwarded by the upper house. And it was often protested that orphans were given Catholic educations irrespective of the religion of their parents, contrary to the orphans' law.⁵³

On occasion sensational incidents occurred to dramatize the hostility between the opposing factions. Just such an incident was the murder of Christopher Rousby, a Protestant, and collector of the king's customs, by George Talbot, a Catholic, the chairman of the council and a relative of the Calverts. The circumstances of the murder have been adequately recounted elsewhere.⁵⁴ It is sufficient to indicate here the bitter feelings aroused among the people at large and the Party of Resistance in particular. Passions were raised to a white heat. The fact that Talbot was never brought to justice increased the impression that favoritism held sway in the provincial government and that something was assuredly rotten regarding administration of justice. Of lesser importance, it seemed to vindicate the feeling held by many that inadequate allegiance was rendered the king and his officials. Thus the Protestants could say in all sincerity that

Not only private but public outrages, & murders committed and done by papists upon Protestants without redress, but rather connived at and tolerated by the cheif in authority, and indeed it were vain to desire or

⁵³ *Archives*, I, 406; II, 356, 427, 492; VII, 184; VIII, 102, 103.

⁵⁴ Craven, *Colonies*, 412; Clayton C. Hall, *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore, 1902), p. 119.

expect any help . . . either in these or any other grievances or oppressions, . . . these are the men that are our Cheif Judges at the Comon Law in Chancery of the Probat of Wills and the Affairs of Administration in the Upper House of Assembly. . . .

What a poignant objurgation by a harried people! ⁵⁵

But what caused all this smouldering mass to flare up in 1689? The question may best be answered by observing the provincial predicament at the close of the ninth decade of the seventeenth century. Only a few years before, Lord Culpeper had summarized the situation well:

Maryland is now in torment, troubled with poverty but in very great danger of falling in pieces either because old Lord Baltimore's politic maxims are not pursued or that they are unsuited to this age.⁵⁶

2. PROBLEMS AND CIRCUMSTANCES ON THE EVE

Why does a revolution occur in one year rather than another, or not at all? There is no all-embracing answer. To say that conditions reached a nadir, or that circumstances proved propitious begs the question. As for the Maryland revolution of 1689, it is only possible to point to a combination of causal elements which reached a peak *pari passu* certain external forces which were making the success of an attempted insurgency possible. In addition to new issues, certain old ones cropped up again in 1688 and 1689.

A fresh controversy made its appearance in 1688. As one might guess, tobacco was the cause.⁵⁷ The proprietor and upper house had sporadically advocated laws restricting tobacco packing and regulating its quality for export. These attempts were opposed by the lower house, and many seem harsh considering the prevailing economic conditions. In August, 1687, sixteen English merchants petitioned the king to prohibit the exportation of bulk tobacco from the colony. The following year an order was sent from the Crown through Lord Baltimore to his representative here prohibiting the exportation of tobacco in bulk from Maryland. That the order came from above was less important than

⁵⁵ Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, 157-158, 159; Sparks, *Causes*, 97; *Arch. Md.*, VIII, 104-105.

⁵⁶ CSP, 1681-1685, # 319.

⁵⁷ See earlier.

the enthusiasm and relish with which the Proprietary Party prepared to enforce it. In announcing it to the assembly, President William Joseph (Baltimore's first-in-charge) anticipated opposition and haughtily said that it *must* be obeyed.⁵⁸

This myrmidon may have been correct, but he was not subtle, diplomatic, or prudent. The wealthy Maryland merchants and planters opposed the exportation of tobacco in bulk because it lowered the price, made fraudulent packing easier, and glutted the market.⁵⁹ Since the large planters were also the prominent landholders, their incomes did not depend on the sale of tobacco alone. In addition to their rents, most could fall back on large estates. On the other hand, the economic groups below them, represented by the Party of Resistance, were entirely dependent upon the sale of their tobacco. Telling them to reduce output was like telling Grangers in the 1870's to lower surpluses in order to raise prices. It may be good economics, but the farmer rarely studied economics and generally distrusted theorists.

Why did the opponents of the Proprietary Party react so violently to the proposed prohibition? Once again the lower house served as its spokesman, registering its protest in the November session of the general assembly. The objections began with the observation that the prohibition would be injurious to the king and the proprietor. That it would reduce duties due James and Calvert is of small concern here. The protest as it concerned their own interests is of vital significance.

it would hinder and Deprive the good people of the Sale of all their Tobacco Except such as is Extraordinary bright & Dry Tobacco fitt for the London Merchants who buy it with intent to Transport the Same for Holland, and break off the Trade of those Small Ships that come from the West and North Countrys who bring in great Quantitys of Severall Serviceable Goods & Supply this Province therewith, And not only so but with those Goods at better prices Purchase their Dark Tobacco which is that, that's Generally Bulkt, And is such that the Londoners will not buy nor carry out, And so all that Tobacco which is not very bright and dry of which the greatest part Consist would lye and rott upon the Owners hands and they thereby perish for want of such of those Goods these small West and North Country Ships bring.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 288; *CSP*, 1685-1688, # 1396, 1397; *Arch. Md.*, VIII, 45-46; *CSP*, 1685-1688, # 1481, 1482, 1489, 1498; *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 151; VIII, 148.

⁵⁹ For the best argument in favor of prohibition see *CSP*, 1681-1685, # 1397.

⁶⁰ *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 198-199; *CSP*, 1689-1692, # 9.

This statement needs little interpretation. Bulk tobacco was packed in huge hogsheads in which all qualities of leaf might be inserted. The alternative was to place only the whole leaf in the smaller casks which were easily examined and which required the planter to ship only the highest quality tobacco. The lower house argued that the tobacco grown by most of the inhabitants was only for bulk transport, and that the new regulation would severely limit the amount of tobacco exported. The small tobacco growers found a small, informal, scattered market that would buy ground leaves, seconds, and even stalks, easier to please than specified merchandising outlets for only their best tobacco. In addition, the outport traders brought serviceable consumer goods to the province at lower prices than the London merchants. And there was one other consideration. The designation "bulk" allowed a lower shipping classification carrying port duties and freight charges much below those attached to tobacco in casks.⁶¹

It was of the utmost importance, therefore, to the Party of Resistance that prohibition not become effective. Fortunately for them, the monarchical changes in England relieved the group of the issue in part. Complete alleviation of the problem required the elimination of the Proprietary Party, which seemed so closely bound to James through both religious and economic ties.⁶² Thus when it appeared that Lord Baltimore was refusing to proclaim the new sovereigns in Maryland, the anti-Proprietary forces felt the only protection for their economic and political interests lay in the overthrow of the provincial government.⁶³ But before turning to this question, other tenebrous issues were reaching their full growth in 1688.

The records fail to disclose any direct opposition to the collection of the quitrents as such.⁶⁴ But the inhabitants lacked specie.⁶⁵ So long as they were allowed to pay their rents and fees in tobacco they were placid. When the council proposed in 1688 that rents be paid in sterling, tempers flared immediately. The need and desire of the settlers had been indicated in 1669 when the lower

⁶¹ Wyckoff, *Regulation*, pp. 99, 101, 96, 101.

⁶² Despite the fact that the crown had instigated *quo warranto* proceedings against Calvert's charter.

⁶³ See later, 32-33.

⁶⁴ Beverly W. Bond, Jr., "The Quit Rent in Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, V (Dec., 1910), 361.

⁶⁵ In 1671, for example, an act had been introduced "for the Advancement of floreigne Coynes." *Arch. Md.*, II, 286-287.

house passed an "act for Paym^t of money debts with tobacco," and circumstances were unchanged. Although the plan of the Proprietary Party was defeated, Lord Baltimore's splenetic agents went about demanding sterling anyway, agitating the populace immeasurably for 18 months prior to the revolution.⁶⁶

The theme of parliamentary privilege recurred in 1688 in a new guise. The lower house insisted upon its right to appoint clerks to *all* committees, while the upper house replied that they could make such appointments for their own committees but not for joint ones. The upper house then accused members of the lower serving on joint committees of sneaking off, meeting privately without the chairman and members of the upper house, and appointing their own clerk. It is almost inconceivable that such apparently minor issues could add as much as they did to the tension between the two parties on the eve of the revolution.⁶⁷

There was still another procedural problem which arose at this time—the question of prorogation. The proprietor had not infrequently prorogued the assembly to suit his purposes.⁶⁸ It was a convenient device, enabling him to dismiss a session running contrary to his interests without risking the new election that might return a still more unfavorable group, or, losing temporary legislation advantageous to him. In addition, since he was required to hold a meeting of the general assembly with a certain frequency, prorogation enabled him to call sessions at his pleasure, since it was not the equivalent of adjournment. In 1688 and 1689 the question reached a climax.⁶⁹

The November, 1688, session had been fraught with controversy. It was prorogued until the following April by techy William Joseph, heading the council. When April came the reconvening was postponed until October. This was doubly alarming, coming as it did on the heels of two rumors which swept the province. The first occurred in March and ran to the effect that the Catholic Proprietary Party was in league with the Indians and French to massacre the Protestants. The second was caused by the putative

⁶⁶ Curtis P. Nettels, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies Before 1720*, (University of Wisconsin Studies in Social Science and History, No. 20, Madison, 1934), pp. 216-217; *Arch. Md.*, II, 200, VIII, 64; CSP, 1689-1692, #9.

⁶⁷ *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 190.

⁶⁸ See earlier.

⁶⁹ Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, 155; *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 4; VIII, 225.

failure of the proprietor to proclaim the accession of William and Mary. Each must be considered briefly.⁷⁰

Historians have fully explored the details of the Catholic-Indian conspiracy rumor.⁷¹ Maryland's thin and scattered population (25,000 in 1688) was spread over an area divided by a wide bay and broken by many creeks and rivers. That the colony was susceptible to whisperings and rumors may be seen in such legislation as "an act against divulgers of false news." What is important to note here is the immense fear sincerely felt by most of the Protestant inhabitants, and even by many of the leaders of the revolution which followed in four months. Certainly the "Great Fear" helped pave the way for the ready acceptance by the settlers of the results of the revolution. In writing of the plight of the American farmer in the late nineteenth century, Richard Hofstadter has graphically described the situation in Maryland 200 years before. He refers to the tendency of the oppressed to suspect a conspiracy against themselves.

This kind of thinking frequently occurs when political and social antagonisms are sharp. Certain audiences are especially susceptible to it—particularly, I believe, those who have attained only a low level of education, whose access to information is poor, and who are so completely shut out from access to the centers of power that they feel themselves completely deprived of self-defense and subjected to unlimited manipulation by those who wield power. There are, moreover, certain types of popular movements of dissent that offer special opportunities to agitators with paranoid tendencies, who are able to make a vocational asset out of their psychic disturbances.⁷²

The conspiracy rumor added fuel to the fire. It also accentuated the religious dichotomy, as did the untimely death and consequent failure of Lord Baltimore's messenger to reach Maryland. The accession of William and Mary to the English throne was thus proclaimed in all the colonies save Maryland. At a time when the entire seaboard was talking excitedly of the change, Maryland had received no official word. What were the inhabitants to think except that their proprietor refused to recognize the demise of the

⁷⁰ *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 210.

⁷¹ See Bernard C. Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," *American Historical Association, Annual Report for the Year 1897*, pp. 281-353; Sparks, *Causes*, 79; Matthew P. Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (N. Y., 1929), pp. 178-179.

⁷² *Archives*, II, 200; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (N. Y., 1956), p. 71. John Coode, the nominal leader of the revolt, fits the last description perfectly.

Catholic James? Occurring alongside the prohibition controversy, the Catholic-Indian conspiracy rumor, and the second prorogation of the assembly, it is not difficult to understand the tone of an extract from a letter written by one Nicholas Spencer of Virginia in June of 1689, one month before the revolution.

The inhabitants of Maryland, mostly Protestants, are ragingly earnest for proclaiming King William and Queen Mary. They will not believe that the order has not arrived and that the government is not concealing it. Sometimes they are positive that they will proclaim their Majesties without the order, which will unsettle the whole government.⁷³

One very strategic fact linked and reinforced these problems—the absence of the proprietor since 1684. Craven has keenly analyzed the significance of this element.

The differences between resident and absentee landlordism are many and significant. The one is personal, prompt in action, and possessed of a certain elasticity permitting concessions in special circumstances without surrender of essential prerogatives. The other is marked by delay and misunderstanding, both of them calculated to strengthen the determination of either party to a conflict and thus to draw out differences to a point at which men are divided on principle.⁷⁴

Lord Baltimore was caught in a cross fire. Aware of the unrest in his province, he was forced to return to England in 1684 to defend his lands against the claims of William Penn. There is no certainty, but had he been in the colony, it is very possible the revolt would never have occurred, or if it had, would have been quelled. Calvert's choice of subordinates during his absence was unfortunate indeed. The man he first left in charge, Talbot, proceeded to alienate the already cool affections of the settlers.⁷⁵ The *coup de grace* was applied in 1688 when William Joseph arrived as chairman of the council. This martinet's incredible stupidity in dealing with the opposition has been recorded elsewhere.⁷⁶ Cause for revolt was present before he arrived, but his ineptitude helped ignite the pyre which snuffed out his master's government for a quarter of a century.⁷⁷

A final glance should be given the question of nepotism on the

⁷³ Craven, *Colonies*, 414; CSP, 1689-1692, # 194.

⁷⁴ Craven, *Colonies*, 205.

⁷⁵ See earlier.

⁷⁶ *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 147-153; Sparks, *Causes*, 98.

⁷⁷ William H. Browne, *Maryland, The History of a Palatinate* (Boston, 1887), p. 147.

eve of the revolution. In 1685 seven of the nine members of the council were relatives of the proprietor. In 1688 "every office of importance with one apparent exception, was occupied by one of his relatives." In 1684, just prior to his departure for England, Lord Baltimore III created the land office which furnished many new offices for his relatives.⁷⁸ Ironically, the success of the revolution was due in great part to the fact that the Party of Resistance controlled the militia. The proprietor had neglected to appoint many of his faction officers because the positions were not lucrative.⁷⁹

The scope of this paper is limited to a study of the *causes* of the Maryland revolution. Yet, it would be amiss not to at least refer to one great element which made success probable for the insurgents of 1689. The revolts of 1659 and 1676 had failed because the proprietor had been supported by the Crown. The action of the Protestant Association in 1689, however, fit perfectly into the plans of William III to bind the English colonies closer to him. Through approving and accepting the changes wrought in Maryland, William aided their cause immeasurably.⁸⁰

Who were *they*? What manner of men stepped into the situation that has been described thus far and led the revolution? This remains as the final consideration.

3. THE MAKERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The Proprietary Party was supreme in Maryland—socially, politically, and economically. Until 1689 the insurgent leaders were one step removed from positions of control. After that date they attained these offices and were able to dominate the province. Prior to the revolution they held, by and large, time consuming, non-lucrative posts. In addition, many of the rebels during the quarter-century preceding 1689 were "top-dog" on the local and county level. When they rose to the provincial level, however, they were stymied and balked by the tight control which the Proprietary Party exerted. The insurgents enjoyed their strong county positions because of the administrative needs of their expanding communities. With position came ideas of self-government, an

⁷⁸ See earlier.

⁷⁹ Sparks, *Causes*, 95, 93; Osgood, *Colonies*, III, 485; CSP, 1681-1685, # 349.

⁸⁰ Mereness, *Maryland*, p. 40; Browne, *Maryland*, p. 154-156.

independent spirit, and pride of place—all of which clashed with the archaic character of the government under which they lived and the inflexibility of the men controlling that government. The revolutionary leaders, intrenched locally, were also the group which dominated the lower house of assembly.⁸¹

The pertinent documents extant do not indicate that the proprietor was particularly generous with the members of the Party of Resistance. Generally, the few land grants they received were small and not well located. Moreover, in locating the proposed posts in 1683,⁸² the plantations of these men were passed over. Either they were slighted or their holdings were too small to warrant such attention. There was an additional socio-economic implication which does not contradict what has preceded. It merely applies to *one* of the discontented groups. A freeholder might possess more land than the lord of a manor, yet he might not become one for lack of a patent from the proprietor. Such a condition again reflects the anachronistic nature of a vestigial feudal polity and the paradoxes which arose from it.⁸³

Geographically the revolution can be located in the three major counties of the province—St. Marys, Charles, and Calvert. In fact, one may even view the leaders as living in concentric rings according to their importance, with St. Marys City as the nucleus. The two most important leaders were residents of the capital city. Four others were residents of the county of the same name. Two lived in Calvert, one in Charles, and one in Talbot.⁸⁴ Anne Arundel was a bit hostile and largely apathetic to the events of 1689, but it had been settled as a result of Puritan migrations from Virginia in the 1640's and had little to gain from an Anglican establishment in the colony. The outlying counties, particularly those across the bay, were more recently settled, less developed and less populated. In 1683 Baltimore and Cecil Counties near the head of the bay were a frontier region, considered so remote from St. Marys that settlers did not even try to obtain title to their land, necessitating a resident land commissioner. Thus the southeastern corner of the

⁸¹ Craven, *Colonies*, 410; Mereness, *Maryland*, pp. 214-216, 237.

⁸² See also *Arch. Md.*, VII, 609-619.

⁸³ Kilty, *Assistant*, *passim*; "Maryland Rent Rolls," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (Dec., 1924), 341-369; XX (Mar., Jun., Sep., 1925), 23-33, 183-199, 273-296; XXIV (Mar., Jun., Sep., 1929), 43-45, 132-145, 228-237; XXV (Jun., 1930), 209-218.

⁸⁴ The basis for determining leadership here has been Osgood, *Colonies*, III, 496. All the men to be discussed except Edmundson signed the Declaration of the Protestant Association in 1689.

province provided the bulk of the leadership for the revolution and received most of its benefits, although the Protestants in nearly all of the counties rallied sufficiently to the cause to control their local governments.⁸⁵

As Newton Mereness has indicated, where population was sparse and social relations minimal, political activity was weakest. There was only one "urban center" in Maryland and it was the focal point of the revolution. Otherwise, support came from the rural areas of densest population, those areas where communications were most fully developed and planters might gather to discuss their mutual problems.⁸⁶

The leaders of the Party of Resistance were largely tobacco planters. Perhaps of equal importance here, was another function most of them served in the provincial society—representing people at law. These men were most active in the courts and therefore well placed to observe the malfunctioning of the judicial system.⁸⁷ If these men were untrained professionally, they were nevertheless legally and politically alert. Most of them first appear in the Maryland records during the seventh and eighth decades of the century. Certainly they were aware of the changes in the English system which the Civil Wars had caused. Finally, many had been hurt personally by the machinations of the Proprietary Party.

The three leaders of the revolution were John Coode, Kenelm Cheseldine, and Nehemiah Blackiston.⁸⁸ Since they were all sons-in-law of Thomas Gerard, it would be well to examine first the Gerard family and its background. Gerard might be called the founder of the Party of Resistance. He played a leading role in the revolution of 1659 and was the only Catholic member of a Protestant family. The Gerards and the first two generations of the Cheseldine family span the period 1638 to 1725. All three generations were politically active in the province and unquestionably provided a continuity in political leadership for their faction. In fact, the family genealogist even notes parallels in the political careers of Thomas Gerard and Kenelm Cheseldine.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vol. (Washington, 1933), I, 115; Osgood, *Colonies*, III, 497.

⁸⁶ Mereness, *Maryland*, p. 129.

⁸⁷ See earlier.

⁸⁸ Osgood varies slightly from this, *Colonies*, III, 496.

⁸⁹ Edwin W. Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard and His Sons-In-Law," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVI (Sept., 1951), 191-197; Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, 161; Edwin W. Beitzell, *The Cheseldine Family* (Washington, 1949), pp. 1-3.

Gerard was born in 1605 and reached the colony in 1637. He was chosen a burgess from St. Marys Hundred the following year. He claimed 2,000 acres upon arriving and his holdings accumulated to about 11,400 acres at the time of his death in 1673. Although he defended Calvert against the Puritans in the 1650's, he broke with Calvert and sided with Fendall in 1658 and 1659. For his part in the uprisings of those years, Lord Baltimore ordered that Gerard's property be seized and that he be banished from the province. In 1661 his goods were restored with the proviso that he might never hold office. The break was in all probability caused by an escheat case.⁹⁰

Through his wife, Gerard claimed the 1,000 acres called "Snow Hill" which had been granted in 1640 to Abel Snow, Gerard's now deceased brother-in-law. While the court inquiry was still pending over the title to the land, the proprietor repossessed and regranted it to two men for services rendered during Ingle's insurrection. Although the reissuance of title occurred in 1652, as late as 1683 the family was still petitioning for the return of the land.⁹¹

Obviously, the bitter feeling caused by the escheat of "Snow Hill" did not die with Gerard. Nor was it the only source of unrest in that family. For example, in 1671 action was taken against Gerard for removing an Indian from the province without the consent of the governor.⁹² But the property problem was central and of lasting importance because Coode, Blackiston, and Cheseldine inherited Gerard's lands through marriages to his daughters.⁹³ It is easy to envision the family circle on the Gerard plantation in St. Marys County—all seated about the hearth—aroused and highly incensed over the proprietor's panoply of injustices.

John Coode was at least the nominal leader of the revolution. In so many ways he fits Hofstadter's portrait of the agitator "with paranoid tendencies" able to make a vocational asset out of his

⁹⁰ Beitzell, *Cheseldine*, pp. 3, 13.

⁹¹ Beitzell, "Gerard," 198; *Arch. Md.*, XL, 265, 373; Kilty, *Assistant*, 79, 220.

⁹² Sparks, *Causes*, 55.

⁹³ Gerard's third daughter, Susannah, married John Coode and they received Bushwood Manor which became the meeting place for the Party of Resistance. Elizabeth Gerard married Nehemiah Blackiston in 1669 and her dowry included St. Clement's Island, Longworth Point, and Dare's Neck. Mary Gerard married Kenelm Cheseldine in 1677 and they received White Neck, Mattapany (not the site of the revolution), St. Katherine's Island, Westwood Lodge, Broad Neck, and 30,000 lbs. of tobacco. Beitzell, "Gerard," 202, 205; Beitzell, *Cheseldine*, pp. 9-10, 20-23.

psychic disturbances.⁹⁴ I do not mean to write Coode's biography here.⁹⁵ Rather, of greater value, certain aspects of his career are selected to show why he opposed the proprietary interests. M. P. Andrews feels that Coode was a man of considerable ability and ambition, but unscrupulous in his ways and means of carrying on a movement which had some justification.⁹⁶ This is a far cry from the treatment Coode received at the hands of nineteenth century historians, and somewhat closer to the truth.⁹⁷

Coode was a legal resident of St. Marys City and owned a house and plantation on the Wicomico River in Charles County. One historian has written that Coode's home served as a focus for the discontented of the province to engage in loose and wild talk about the government. He had received training as both a Catholic and an Anglican priest and served as justice of the peace, captain and colonel of the county militia, coroner, and member of the lower house. He also had served as captain of the proprietor's yacht in 1678, but what personal animosities resulted from this are unknown. He was a heavy drinker and had a reputation for swearing, being hot-tempered, and belligerent. Yet, he appears to have been very popular in the province, attracting a considerable following. Finally, a contemporary source reveals that Coode was in constant need of money.⁹⁸

In 1681 Coode was the cause of a fiery controversy concerning the retention of his seat in the lower house while charges of blasphemy were pending against him.⁹⁹ In that same year he was fined £100 sterling for attempting to incite a group of men to revolt. During that minor flare-up Coode was confronted by William Calvert and replied to him that

he cared not a fart for him the said William Calvert Esq^r, whereupon the said William Calvert Esq^r told him there was both the Chancellor and himself his Superior officer next to the Governor, Coode answered Again that he cared not a Turd for the Chancellor Nor the Governor neither. . . .

Coode was not overly awed by authority.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ See earlier.

⁹⁵ A Ph.D. thesis on Coode, and highly favorable to him, is in progress at Columbia University.

⁹⁶ Matthew P. Andrews, *The Founding of Maryland* (N. Y., 1933), pp. 319-320.

⁹⁷ For a typically unfavorable reaction to Coode, see Steiner, "Revolution," 302.

⁹⁸ C. M. Andrews, *Period*, II, 348; *Arch. Md.*, XVII, 217; C. M. Andrews, *Period*, II, 378.

⁹⁹ See earlier.

¹⁰⁰ *Arch. Md.*, V, 112-116, 330, 332; LI, 243; VIII, 159; VII, 135-138; Sparks, *Causes*, 81-83; M. P. Andrews, *Province and State*, 179.

Coode lost repeatedly in the Provincial Court during the 1670's.¹⁰¹ For example in 1671, Susannah Coode hired Thomas Lomax to settle her financial affairs in return for £6,900 of tobacco. After he had labored 26 months, the Coodes refused to pay him. In court they were represented by Kenelm Cheseldine and lost the case. In another instance an estate, Bushwood, left undivided to Susannah Coode and Gerard Slye, was the bone of contention. The Coodes felt they had lost £30,000 of tobacco as a result of Slye's refusal to allow the joint inheritance to be partitioned. The Coodes brought suit again, were represented by Cheseldine again, and lost the case again. On other occasions during the '70's they lost cases initiated against them in amounts of £1,769 and £1,500 of tobacco, each time represented by Cheseldine.¹⁰²

Kenelm Cheseldine was one of the most active men in the affairs of the colony. Born in England about 1640, he came to Maryland in 1669. He was well educated, had an excellent library, and was a "practicing attorney." He was sworn in as an attorney in the Provincial Court in 1670, and handled and lost his first case that same year. From 1675 to 1678 he handled 240 clients in the Provincial Court and was party to 23 cases himself. He also handled many important cases in the Court of Chancery. Certainly he was in a position to note and judge whether the judicial system functioned properly. One doubts whether he thought it did.¹⁰³

In 1683 as attorney for Thomas Truman, Cheseldine claimed there were errors in the record of the upper house and in the judgment rendered by the Provincial Court. How? Cheseldine asserted that his client had not been brought in to answer the complaint against him by due process at common law; that the proceedings had been by petition whereas the law required that no freeman be deprived of his goods or chattels except by indictment or process of original writ judged by law; and that judgment was given before an inquiry was first held by jury. Cheseldine therefore contended that the whole case was defective with regard to the requirements of common law. Nevertheless, the upper

¹⁰¹ The proceedings of the Provincial Court have only been published through 1679, making a study of the 1680's inaccessible.

¹⁰² *Arch. Md.*, LXV, 395-396, 409-410, 418-419; LXVII, 360-361.

¹⁰³ Beitzell, *Cheseldine*, pp. 20-21; *Arch. Md.*, LVII, xviii, 569; LXVI, xiii; LI, xiv.

house acting as Appellate Court upheld their own judgment rendered as Provincial Court.¹⁰⁴

Like Coode, Cheseldine was a resident of St. Marys City. Like many others of his party, he was often at odds with the proprietary government over land. For example, in 1650 Cecilius Calvert granted a Captain John Price 300 acres which Cheseldine claimed after Price passed away. In 1675 Cheseldine was ordered to appear in the Court of Chancery to defend his claim. The outcome of the case is unknown. At any rate, Cheseldine ultimately held some 3,000 acres, out of which he left substantial parts to his heirs at his death in 1708. (However, the bulk of his land seems to have been inherited from Gerard, not gained by grant from the proprietor.) It should also be noted that his will bequeathed numerous books on law.¹⁰⁵

Before the revolution Cheseldine held numerous offices: county commissioner, county recorder, speaker of the lower house, and justice of the peace. As a member of the lower house from 1676 to 1704 he was extremely active, serving on many committees and as a liaison between the two houses. In 1681 it was Cheseldine who demanded the book of laws from the upper house.¹⁰⁶ Whereas Coode was completely discredited by 1693, Cheseldine continued to prosper after the revolution. For his part in the uprising¹⁰⁷ he was awarded £100,000 of tobacco by the assembly and during the 1690's he held a succession of high-ranking remunerative offices.¹⁰⁸

The third of the Gerard sons-in-law was Nehemiah Blackiston whose father had been a regicide judge at the trial of Charles I. Coming from Durham, England, Blackiston arrived in St. Marys in 1668 and entered his land rights in 1674 to 300 acres. As an attorney he handled many important cases in the Provincial Court, Court of Chancery, and county courts of St. Marys and Charles Counties. Like Cheseldine then, he was in a fair position to witness any malfunctioning of the judicial process. Like Coode, however, he had a curious propensity to lose considerable sums, often by

¹⁰⁴ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 396, 400, 502-3.

¹⁰⁵ *Arch. Md.*, LI, 176; Beitzell, *Cheseldine*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰⁶ See earlier.

¹⁰⁷ Mr. Beitzell feels that Cheseldine was the "brains" behind the revolution.

¹⁰⁸ *Arch. Md.*, LI, 337; VIII, 245; V, 462; LXVII, 105; VII, 119; John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland* . . . (Baltimore, 1831), p. 238; Owings, *Patronage*, pp. 118 ff.

default, in court cases. For example, in two cases in 1675 Blackiston lost £930 and £6,920 of tobacco with Cheseldine as his attorney. In 1677 he lost £1,500, also by default.¹⁰⁹

From 1682 to 1684 Blackiston served as surveyor and comptroller general. But while serving as Collector of King's Customs for the Potomac and Wicomico Rivers in 1685, Blackiston caused the greatest trouble for the Proprietary Party. In that year he wrote a letter to the commissioners of customs complaining of interference with himself and other Crown officers by the agents of the proprietor—a letter which aroused a furor in the province between the two opposing factions. It narrated the murder of Rousby, excoriating the Proprietary Party for allowing Talbot to go free.¹¹⁰ Blackiston then proceeded to describe the ways in which he was obstructed in fulfilling his duties.¹¹¹ He stated that the agents of the proprietor condemned and disowned his commission, tore and burnt the certificates he issued to masters of ships, dissuaded ship captains from applying for clearance, and perpetrated customs frauds. He added that the council had assumed the power to appoint someone to replace him and he concluded by writing that for not complying he was served with warrants and threatened with punishment, banishment, and harm to his family. This letter formed one basis for the frequent complaint made by the anti-proprietary faction that exiguous allegiance was rendered the king.¹¹²

There are several other points to be noted with regard to Blackiston. When Coode stirred up the people in 1681¹¹³ he held a meeting at Blackiston's house for which the latter was fined £50 sterling. Even so, in 1685 anti-Catholic and anti-proprietary meetings were still taking place at his home. In addition, Ebenezer Blackiston, Nehemiah's younger brother, held 200 acres as the tenant of Henry Lowe, one of the most disliked members of the council and a Catholic relative of Lord Baltimore. Finally, it should be pointed out that following the revolution, Blackiston, like Cheseldine, held a series of excellent posts, including chief

¹⁰⁹ Christopher Johnston, "Blakiston Family," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II (Mar., 1907), 54-58; *Arch. Md.*, LX, xlii; LXVI, 240, 360-364; LXVII, 290-291.

¹¹⁰ See earlier.

¹¹¹ For other quarrels between Lord Baltimore and customs officials, see Sparks, *Causes*, 88.

¹¹² *Arch. Md.*, V, 436-439; XVII, 451.

¹¹³ See earlier.

justice of the Provincial Court, chancellor, and member of the council.¹¹⁴

The fourth and last of the major leaders¹¹⁵ was Henry Jowles, colonel of the militia of Calvert County and a relative of Cheseldine. Jowles attended the council of war held at St. Marys in 1676 and may have been in league with the revolutionary forces then. He was elected a delegate to the lower house in 1685 and was extremely active there during the stormy session of 1688, acting frequently as liaison between the two houses. In fact, it was the stentorian Jowles who demanded of the upper house in November, 1688, that "the Lower House might have the Journals of the Lower House from time to time. . . ."¹¹⁶

Jowles' economic status is difficult to determine. In 1684 he held 400 acres as tenant from one Robert Brown which he (Jowles) sub-let in turn. In 1678 the Provincial Court ordered the sheriff of Calvert County to find Jowles and his wife and lock them up in order to have them in court on November 11 to answer Richard Banke's plea of trespassing. The sheriff complied with the order. In 1682 one Thomas Pue petitioned the council, complaining that he had been employed by the province and should have received £14,000 of tobacco which Jowles had failed to pay him in an official capacity. As a consequence the council ordered the attorney general to put in suit Jowles' bonds until he paid up.¹¹⁷

Among the lesser leaders, Ninian Beale was perhaps the most significant. A Presbyterian layman, he rose from a condition of indenture and served as a military subordinate of both Jowles and Coode. It is known that in 1669 he received a 300 acre grant of land and in 1677 was involved in a land dispute over 200 acres.¹¹⁸ In 1682 he unsuccessfully petitioned the council for the return of a mill that he had lost through legal technicalities. Finally, in 1686, the council ordered that Mary Molloy, a servant to Thomas Beale (a relative of Ninian) have 20 lashes on her bare

¹¹⁴ *Arch. Md.*, V, 330, 332, 534; "Rent Rolls," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XX, 185; Owings, *Patronage*, pp. 119, 123, 124, 130, 178.

¹¹⁵ For the roles each of these men played in the revolution, see Steiner, "Revolution," 281-353.

¹¹⁶ Sparks, *Causes*, 100; Owings, *Patronage*, p. 118; *Arch. Md.*, VIII, 99, 124, 70-84, 87; McAnear, "Grevances," 405 n.

¹¹⁷ "Rent Rolls," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XX, 191; *Archives*, LXVII, 454-455; XVII, 189-190.

¹¹⁸ This dispute was postponed for over a year because of the incompetence of the proprietor's surveyor.

back as punishment for "lying and scandalous words" spoken against the same "nefarious" Henry Lowe mentioned earlier.¹¹⁹ It is hardly likely that the Beale family appreciated one of their servants being disabled and kept from her work by the whims of the Proprietary Party.¹²⁰

John Edmundson does not fit the geographical pattern set by the other leaders of the revolution. Yet, he too had cause to desire the fall of the Calvert dynasty. A merchant and large landholder of Talbot County, he was quite active as a delegate to the lower house in 1676 and 1681. As early as 1665 he was in danger of losing a 300 acre claim, and in 1666 he was granted a license to trade with the Indians, with the reservation that 10% of all beaver go to the governor. In 1667 Edmundson was granted 1,000 acres. Six years later, however, Cecilius Calvert sent the sheriff of Talbot County an order requiring Edmundson to appear in the Court of Chancery because "we" found the land had already been granted to another person (unnamed in the writ) who had never made good his right to the land, thus causing it to revert back to "us." Edmundson was required to prove in court why his land should not be seized by the proprietor. Again the problem of escheat pestered the anti-proprietary forces. Finally, one John Richardson petitioned that a 900 acre plot belonging to Edmundson be resurveyed, the petitioner claiming some 150 acres of the plot, curiously called "Richardson's Folly."¹²¹

Less can be determined regarding the other leaders of the revolution. Humphrey Warren was a prominent planter, attorney, and dealer in indentured servants. He served as commissioner of Charles County in 1667, 1670 and 1681. In 1668, 1669, 1670, 1675-76 and 1685 he was justice of his county.¹²² Another, John Turling of St. Marys County, an Anglican priest, was charged in 1681 by the council with uttering mutinous and seditious words. (He told a neighbor that the proprietor had furnished the Indians with shot!) He was arraigned before five council members, four of whom were Catholic, and was required to post bond of 20,000 lbs. of tobacco.¹²³ Of the two remaining leaders of the revolution,

¹¹⁹ See earlier.

¹²⁰ M. P. Andrews, *Founding*, p. 328; *Arch. Md.*, XVII, 217; V, 59; LXVII, 234-235, 236; VII, 343; CSP, 1685-1688, # 513.

¹²¹ Kilty, *Assistant*, 89; *Arch. Md.*, II, 478; VII, 133; III, 556; LI, 107; Kilty, *Assistant*, 159-160.

¹²² *Arch. Md.*, V, 21; XV, 405, 71; XVII, 380.

¹²³ *Arch. Md.*, XV, 386, 387, 393; Percy G. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 128.

John Cambell and Richard Clouds, it can only be determined that they were both merchant-planters of St. Marys County.¹²⁴

What else may be said of the leaders of the Party of Resistance and the rebellion? Certainly they were familiar with the danger Lord Baltimore faced—required as he was by the Lords of Trade to defend his charter. The insurgents were opportunists. In 1689 the circumstances were favorable and they seized the moment and acted. There can be no question but that they had long sought the overthrow of the proprietary government. The sporadic attempts at revolt and the constant undertone of discontent should be evidence enough. With good cause did the proprietor state in 1682 that he had received rumors of ill things being said by some "Disaffected Persons."¹²⁵

The discussion thus far has indicated two movements comprising the strength of the Party of Resistance. One should be regarded as a group of men whose personal interests had suffered at the hands of the Proprietary Party and who stood to gain by its overthrow. The second, perhaps more altruistic in motivation and more representative of the people at large, was a group living under the weight of an oppressive, poorly functioning, political system. The two tendencies overlap, and certainly the first group used the second to their own advantage. Edwin Beitzell, a direct descendent of Cheseldine has summed it up well.

It was a combination of dissatisfied elements which included those who sought profit and power for themselves or sought to maintain their positions of prominence and those who were sincerely suspicious of evil and who had viewed with distrust the restriction of suffrage and the rise of special privilege.¹²⁶

One final question should briefly be raised. What became of the leaders once the revolution was accomplished?¹²⁷ They became the socio-political elite of the province. It is not within the scope of this study, but a few examples may suffice. The chancellors after 1690 were Coode, Nehemiah Blackiston, Henry Jowles, and Nathaniel Blackiston. When the church of England was established in 1692, Cheseldine, Blackiston, Clouds, Cambell, and briefly Coode, became vestrymen.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ *Arch. Md.*, LXV, 157; VIII, 116.

¹²⁵ Craven, *Colonies*, 412; *Archives*, VII, 314.

¹²⁶ Beitzell, *Cheseldine*, p. 22.

¹²⁷ See earlier.

¹²⁸ Owings, *Patronage*, 119-120; Skirven, *Parishes*, 112-113.

The millenium did not follow the revolution. The Church of England was established and taxes were rapidly levied for its support. Catholic immigration was prohibited and public celebration of the mass was forbidden. On the other hand, the manner of electing and summoning delegates to serve in the legislative assembly was no longer determined by ordinance of the proprietor, but by enactment of the general assembly. New offices could no longer be created without the consent of the lower house; and the legislature, not the governor and council alone, determined the fees of officers. The administration of justice was at last decentralized, and the land office ceased to be a private possession of the proprietor and became a public agency.¹²⁹

4. ESTIMATE

Because the participants have been dead for two centuries and a half, we must resurrect and reconstruct the "causes" in the most second-hand manner. If those same participants could and would permit us an interview, we should be forced to separate carefully the dross from the ore of their contrary opinions. The process might yield the following causes as seen by articulate contemporaries: the unreasonable exercise of the proprietor's veto power; the uncertain status of many laws; the illegal raising of taxes and fines by the proprietor; the excessive exaction of fees by proprietary officers; the corruption of the judicial system; the favoritism received by Roman Catholics through land grants, offices, and special legal protection; the seizure of goods under false pretenses; and the exaction of sterling instead of tobacco for the payment of rents.¹³⁰ Factors we have found revealing their personal ambitions and jealousies they would disclose with reluctance. Because the insurgents hushed their less admirable motivations, historians have long found their revolution difficult to explain. A reading of their public utterances and documents suggests the causes they wished the world to accept. But court records and other sources indicate other promptings which we have noted.

One might marshal many more of an increasingly specific char-

¹²⁹ Fiske, *Old Virginia*, II, 162.

¹³⁰ For the fullest possible statement of causes seen through the eyes of contemporaries, the reader is referred to five documents spanning the Restoration generation: *Arch. Md.*, II, 168-9; V, 134-49; XIII, 171-2; VIII, 107-7; and McAnear, "Grevances," 392-409.

acter. But rather than recapitulate and summarize and magnify *ad infinitum*, it is more worthwhile to place the issues in their larger perspective by means of a few reflections on the ground just covered. The decades preceding the revolution had been marked by a great increase in settlement. In a certain sense the colony outgrew a government unable to provide for its needs. When a land office appeared, it was controlled for the private gain of the proprietor. That he evinced little understanding of and sympathy for the needs of the colony, he betrayed by increasing financial burdens at the very moment when the provincial economy was hardest hit.

It is poor policy to deny flatly requests ardently sought. It is political stupidity to refuse accustomed privileges. Lord Baltimore met changing conditions in Maryland by vetoing laws years after they had become effective, by placing a property qualification on the franchise, and by summoning only half the delegates he had authorized to be elected. That the proprietor was usually guided by the letter of his charter, rather than the spirit of the times, reveals his inflexibility. The Calvert temper was never presented more clearly than in 1682.

What Priviledges and Powers I have by my Charter are from the King, and that of Calling of Assemblies in such manner and way as I shall think fitt being an undeniable one amongst the rest, I cannot Deem it Honourable Nor safe to Lodge it in the Freemen as you have desired, for it would be as reasonable for me to give away my Power of Calling and Dissolving Assemblies, as to give that of Choosing the Number of Delegates. . . . being resolved never to part with Powers my Charter gives held.¹²⁵

And the Calvert relatives and retainers rarely failed to follow the party line. As the upper house stated, "whatsoever he . . . doth by power of his Pattent must not be styled a Grievance."¹²⁶ Thus the upper house was acting in harmony with party tack in 1682 when it voted that no freeman might keep horse or mare who hadn't 50 acres in his county of residence, to which the lower house reacted violently.¹²⁷

The revolution marked the culmination of the growth of the lower house as an institution in seventeenth century Maryland.

¹²⁵ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 355.

¹²⁶ *Arch. Md.*, II, 173.

¹²⁷ *Arch. Md.*, VII, 272, 302.

It had hammered away at the proprietary authority and had greatly improved its position within the provincial structure. But the gift of power to an individual and its transmission through him to the colonists made the executive, not the legislature, the center around which provincial development chiefly occurred. The proprietor (or his representatives) had enormous importance and power, and because he was the focus of political attention, it was only logical to attack his charter rights, because they confirmed his control of the sources of political authority and privilege.¹⁸⁴

The charter and political assumptions of the Baltimores were inconsistent with the changes occurring in England, and the Marylanders were conscious of the fact. Most of the insurgents emigrated between 1665 and 1680 and were aware of the contradiction. Yet the conflict was practical as well as theoretical. As Wesley Craven has written:

Lord Baltimore had no intention of conceding any of the broad and absolute powers stipulated in his charter. That attitude stemmed from no stubborn loyalty to an abstract political theory. His primary interest in Maryland was economic rather than political, but concern for the returns from an overlordship of the land argued that the reins should be tightly held.¹⁸⁵

Looked at still another way, the revolution was the story of an incendiary minority able to gain acceptance for their work from a passive but acquiescing populace. A small but politically alert faction became spokesman for the discontented masses in order to advance the welfare of both. The supporters of the revolution were planters, lesser freeholders, landless freemen, artisans, and even servants. All desired a greater degree of self-government and saw commercial and political gain through closer ties with England.

The opposing factions have been referred to here as parties. Perhaps "overgrown family-interest-group" would have been more correct, but in either case they were split over vital political and economic issues over a protracted period of time. Moreover, there was a decided consistency in the character of the two parties over half a century and both owed their cohesiveness to the desire for office and its benefits.

¹⁸⁴ Herbert L. Osgood, "The Proprietary Province as a Form of Colonial Government," *American Historical Review*, III (October, 1897), 32.

¹⁸⁵ Craven, *Colonies*, p. 300.

The events discussed here portray politics in its purest, most theoretical sense. Not only was there disagreement over specific and tangible issues, but assumptions as to the foundations of government were diametrically opposed. As a result, much of the discord revolved about procedural issues. The conflict did not present itself, as today, in elections, but in arguments, for example, over the electoral process itself. Maryland politics ran in a series of waves, reaching high swells in 1659, 1676, 1681, and 1689. But there was always an undercurrent of agitation and opposition. The most obvious focus of this agitation, of course, was the general assembly; and the acrimonious debates that took place there, eloquently expressed, amidst flummeries, the sources of agitation.

The chasm between the Proprietary Party and the Party of Resistance was wide and deep. Unlike modern politics, the party in power could not be defeated at the polls. It was necessary to turn the faction out physically. In 1689, a small, self-seeking, incendiary group fanned the fires of discontent within the province and turned a highly combustible situation to their advantage.

OLD QUAKER BURYING GROUND:

WEST RIVER QUAKER BURIAL GROUND.
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND.*

By J. REANEY KELLY

MANY of Maryland's finest heritages have deep roots in Anne Arundel County. One of the proudest of the county's southern area is its founders' part in the planting, in 1656, of a new religious movement, Quakerism. Some of the earliest convictions on the mainland of the new world culminated in 1672 at West River in the first General Meeting for all Friends of the Province. The site of this event, attended by George Fox, the first Quaker, was also the location of the West River Meeting, the parent group of Quakers for the Western Shore. It was laid out before 1671, a gift of Thomas Hooker, Sr., and referred to as "Ye ground already laid out for ye people called Quakers for to meet on and bury their dead." There the West River Quaker Meeting House was built and was in use for many years. Today it is the oldest burial ground in Anne Arundel County and, possibly, the oldest still in use without religious affiliation in the State of Maryland.

In this old meeting and burying ground at the intersection of State Roads 255 and 468, near Galesville, in unmarked graves rest the bones of many of the Quaker founders of the County. It is a lonely sentinel identifying the hallowed site of the beginning of the West River Meeting and of the birth of organized Quakerism in Maryland. Only the lengthening shadows of nearby "Cedar Park," "Sudley" and "Tulip Hill," surviving seventeenth and eighteenth century houses, further remind the present generation of that historic era.

Quaker activity in Anne Arundel County dates closely from

* The author expresses his grateful thanks and appreciation to his wife for help and encouragement in preparing this manuscript, to Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist and to Frank F. White, Jr., Junior Archivist, Hall of Records, for their helpful comment and criticisms. The subtitle is the official designation of the Burying Ground as recorded in the Articles of Incorporation.

the now generally accepted creative moment of the new faith in 1652. On a May morning of that year, at Pendle Hill in the Yorkshire moors, George Fox saw his way clearly: "and there atop the hill I was moved to sound the day of the Lord, and the Lord let me see in what places he had a great people to be gathered."¹ The name, Quaker, was applied to George Fox and his followers by a magistrate in scorn.² It was later to become a badge of honor. In 1655 George Fox records, "About this time several Friends went beyond the seas to declare the everlasting Truth of God."³ Of these, Elizabeth Harris, a dedicated messenger, came to Anne Arundel County (then temporarily called Providence) in 1656, or possibly as early as the fall of 1655.⁴ There she found a welcome, although most of the Province was then controlled by an interim, so-called Puritan, government which had repealed Lord Baltimore's "Toleration Act" of 1649⁵ and generally opposed his broad and just founding principles and policies of the Province.⁶ Her initial convincements into Quakerism in Anne Arundel County were the first on the mainland of the new world to be made without hindrance and governmental opposition. She labored with complete freedom and cooperation, while her contemporary missionaries, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, languished in the jails of the Massachusetts Puritan Fathers.⁷

The convincements made by Elizabeth Harris⁸ and others⁹ who followed her expanded and grew after the Province was restored to Lord Baltimore in 1658.¹⁰ By 1661 there were many settled Quaker Meetings throughout southern Anne Arundel

¹ John Nickalls, editor, *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 104. Hereafter referred to as *Fox's Journal*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁴ Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), p. 39.

⁵ *Arch. Md.*, I, 244.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 341-351.

⁷ William Sewall, *A History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers* (Philadelphia, 1883), I, 203.

⁸ Robert Clarkson of Severn to Elizabeth Harris in London—14 Nov. 1657, Swarthmore Collection, Friends Library, London (hereafter referred to as the Clarkson-Harris Letter).

⁹ Josias Coale, Thomas Thurston, Thomas Chapman, George Rolfe, William Robinson, Robert Hodson, John Burnyeat. For a description of their activities, see Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII, (December, 1952), 297.

¹⁰ *Arch. Md.*, I, 369.

County and the other counties of both the Eastern and Western Shores of the Chesapeake.¹¹

Meetings for the Western Shore included West River and Herring Creek in southern Anne Arundel County and The Cliffs and Patuxent in Calvert County.¹² While both public and private meetings were referred to as early as 1657,¹³ the first official record of the West River Meeting, now extant, is dated 1671. It relates that "at a meeting on the land of Thomas Hooker" (Sr.) an Epistle containing the new "Laws and Tenets of Faith," initialled by George Fox, was presented "for the half year meeting of the women of Marieland from the women Friends in the Barbados."¹⁴ At this same meeting it was decided that "Youth Meetings" would thereafter be held as follows:—

"At West River on ye third second day of every second month."

"At Herring Creek ye fourth second day of every second month."

"Ye Cliffs ye second day of every fifth month."

"At Patuxent ye second second day of every fifth month."¹⁵

From this early record it is clear that the meetings referred to had already been established and that the West River Meeting met on the land of Thomas Hooker, Sr.¹⁶

One of the first certificates of survey for land in the West River Hundred was obtained in 1652 by John Brown and John Clark for some 600 acres covering a tract called Brownton.¹⁷ Lord Baltimore, in 1658, issued a patent for this land.¹⁸ The tract was an elongated one which fronted on West River at the present site of Galesville. Two creeks marked a part of its north and south boundaries. Brown's Creek, now Tenthouse, formed a part of the north line and Deep Creek, now Lerch's, lay on the south.¹⁹

¹¹ James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America* (London 1850-1854) I, 347, 362.

¹² West River Meeting Records, Homewood Friends Library, Homewood Meeting House, 3107 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Hereafter referred to as West River Meeting Records, Homewood.

¹³ Clarkson-Harris Letter.

¹⁴ West River Meeting Records, Homewood.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Liber A B & H—f. 293 Land Office. Annapolis, Maryland.

¹⁸ Liber Q—f. 278, Land Office.

¹⁹ Liber 1 C #G—f. 366, Land Office.

Thomas Hooker, Sr., acquired Brownton some time after 1658. The exact date cannot be found, nor was the transfer from Brown and Clark to Hooker by a recorded deed. However, the patent to Brown and Clark, endorsed to Hooker, was later displayed to prove good title. By his will in 1684 the entire tract was left to his son, Thomas Hooker, Jr., "except ye ground which is already laid out for ye people called Quakers to meet on and bury their dead and to be wholly at their service forever, it being in quantity one acre and a half according to estimation."²⁰ It is this small tract of land given by Thomas Hooker, Sr., to "Ye people called Quakers" that is now officially known as West River Quaker Burial Ground and called Old Quaker Burying Ground. It lies at the head of the original Brown's Creek, now called "Tent-house" after a structure of that nature built adjacent to the burying ground.

Thomas Hooker, Sr., the donor of the land, came to Maryland in 1649.²¹ He was convinced into Quakerism by the beloved minister, William Coale, at a meeting at the house of Richard Beard, on South River.²² Both William Coale and Richard Beard were convinced in 1657.²³ Thomas Hooker accompanied William Coale and other Quakers to Virginia²⁴ where the latter and George Wilson were held in chains in a prison at Jamestown. George Wilson died there while William Coale never fully recovered his health as the result of this experience.²⁵ Efforts have been made to connect this Thomas Hooker, Sr., of West River, with the Rev. Thomas Hooker who, with his followers, founded Hartford, Conn., in 1636, without success.²⁶

A deed to Thomas Tench from Thomas Hooker, Jr., dated June 6, 1689, recites that the patent to Brown and Clark for 660 acres called Brownton, endorsed to Thomas Hooker, Sr., was exhibited at that time. The deed also had the following provision:—"Excepting as much as was formerly laid out for a meeting house and burying places for Friends commonly called Quakers."²⁷ Later, in a deed for the same property, dated May

²⁰ Wills 4—f. 28, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

²¹ Early Settlers Book, Land Office.

²² *A Testimony Concerning . . . William Coale . . .* (London, 1682), pp. 10-12. Original in Friends Library, London.

²³ Clarkson-Harris Letter.

²⁴ *Testimony to William Coale*, pp. 10-12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁶ Inquiry to the Connecticut Historical Society failed to establish a relationship.

²⁷ Anne Arundel County Land Records Liber I H #1, f. 312, Hall of Records.

29, 1733, to Joseph Galloway from Nathan Rigbie (who had inherited it from Thomas Tench)²⁸ the following was reserved:—"Excepting only the lot or parcel of ground given by Thomas Hooker, Sr., to the people called Quakers whereon their meeting house now stands and the lot or parcel of ground whereon the Tenthouse standeth."²⁹

The meeting house referred to in this deed was a frame one built before 1697.³⁰ The Tenthouse, a framework over which a canvas sail was spread, was used at Yearly Meetings for Friends of the Province and was paid for by contributions from the meetings of the Western Shore as well as by generous amounts of tobacco sent to the West River Meeting by Friends on the Eastern Shore. While the Tenthouse was used at Yearly Meetings instead of the frame Meeting House because of its increased size, there were also "tenting fields" nearby where the visiting Quakers could pitch their tents.³¹ In 1725 the General Assembly of Maryland passed an act prohibiting the sale of liquor within two miles of the West River Meeting House.³² The intent of this act is still in effect. This meeting house burned during the latter part of the Civil War.³³

That there was a meeting place on the land in 1671 is indicated by a minute of the West River Meeting of that year.³⁴ The exact date and type are not clear. It was at this first meeting house³⁵ that Lord Baltimore and William Penn attended a Meeting in 1682 after their well-known conference concerning the boundaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania.³⁶ Following the conference, Lord Baltimore complained that the Quakers had hustled William Penn away so quickly that there was not time to transcribe notes

²⁸ Wills, 12, 232-233.

²⁹ Liber I H #1, f. 594 Hall of Records.

³⁰ Carroll, *loc. cit.*, 308.

³¹ Third Haven Monthly Meeting, Minutes I, p. 150.

³² *Arch. Md.*, XXXV, 428.

³³ An undated letter from Mrs. John Mercer of nearby Cedar Park to her daughter in Philadelphia reports the search of Tulip Hill for southern contraband during the Civil War. She relates that the "Union cavalry tied their horses at the Quaker Meeting House." Mercer Papers, Hall of Records.

³⁴ Records of the West River Meeting, Homewood.

³⁵ Enoch Lewis, *Life of William Penn, Friends Library*, (Philadelphia, 1841), V, 171. It is stated that William Penn attended a meeting at Thomas Hooker's house.

³⁶ *Arch. Md.*, V, 74, 380. The site of the conference was at Colonel Thomas Taillor's on the Severn Ridge Road, now Route #2, a few miles south of South River.

of the conference taken in shorthand.³⁷ From this meeting William Penn traveled from West River to Pennsylvania by way of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. A General Meeting for all Quakers of Pennsylvania was not established until nine years after the 1672 meeting at West River.³⁸

Culmination of the early efforts of Elizabeth Harris, John Burnyeat and other missionaries came in the spring of 1672. John Burnyeat, the great organizer, who came to Maryland first in 1665 and who did much to co-ordinate Quaker affairs, called a General Meeting for all Quakers of the Province at West River.³⁹ In late April of 1672 George Fox came from the Barbados to West River to open the five-day meeting.⁴⁰ It was the first held on the mainland of the new world which was attended by the First Quaker; and it was the beginning of the third oldest Yearly Meeting of Quakers in the world.⁴¹ Thus, organized Quakerism was settled in Maryland. A General Meeting was also held on the Eastern Shore later in the same year and, thereafter, for many years the Yearly Meeting of Maryland Quakers was held alternately at West River and at Third Haven.⁴²

By 1666 Quakerism in England had reached a low ebb. George Fox and many of his leaders had been imprisoned. Acting under the guidance of the "inward light" individual Quakers had expressed and practiced the theories of Quakerism according to their own interpretation, which had brought the movement into some disrepute.⁴³ To save the movement George Fox and his elders realized the need for better organization where the will of the individual must be submissive to the will of the flock. Out of many regional meetings and conferences began "Mens and Womens Monthly Meetings to admonish," where those who did not conform could be disowned.⁴⁴ This step completed a solid

³⁷ Clayton Coleman Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), p. 422.

³⁸ *The 250th Anniversary Celebration of the Founding of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends 1692-1922* (Westminster, Maryland, 1922). Hereafter referred to as *C C L Book*. Pennsylvania 1681, New York 1695, North Carolina 1698.

³⁹ *The Truth Exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ John Burnyeat* (London, 1691), p. 43. Hereafter referred to as Burnyeat's Journal.

⁴⁰ Fox's Journal, p. 616.

⁴¹ *C C L Book*.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Fox's Journal, p. 289-90.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 511-12.

foundation upon which Quakerism functioned with renewed vigor. Also, from this time, the record and account of Quaker affairs is much more complete.

Speaking of the 1672 Quaker meeting and of a similar one at The Cliffs immediately following, George Fox says in his *Journal*:—"There came some five or six Justices of the Peace, the Speaker of the Assembly, and one of the Council and many considerable people of the world and a glorious meeting we had. After the public meeting there were mens and womens meetings and I opened to Friends the service thereof and all were satisfied."⁴⁵ Again, of the 1672 West River Meeting, John Burnyeat records:—"George Fox did wonderfully open the service to Friends and with gladness of heart received advice in such necessary things as were then opened unto them—all were comforted and edified. There were Friends present from all parts of the Province and we had a very large meeting which continued several days in order that men's and women's business for settling things might be established in the Province."⁴⁶

These accounts justify the use of the term "organized Quakerism." While missionary work had gone on since 1656 and many settled meetings were in operation, the 1672 General Meeting at West River was the first to call to all Friends in the Province to meet together and to establish a routine of meetings for worship, business and discipline.⁴⁷ This brought about a more unified code of conduct on the part of the Friends and did much to better relations between them and the proprietary. From 1672 to the end of the seventeenth century hardly a family in southern Anne Arundel County was not reached or touched in some way by the activities of the Quakers.

The list of the founders of Anne Arundel County and the seventeenth century Quakers in that area are virtually identical. Of those settling land within a wide radius of the West River Meeting House and Old Quaker Burying Ground, all were either convinced Quakers or in some way connected with the movement. Some Quaker stalwarts were Thomas Hooker, Sr., and Thomas Hooker, Jr., William Richardson, Richard Galloway, 1st, and his

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 616.

⁴⁶ Allen C. Thomas, *A History of Friends in America*. (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 80.

⁴⁷ Fox's *Journal*, p. 617. Hall—*op. cit.*, p. 393.

sons, Richard Galloway⁴⁸ of "Cedar Park," and Samuel Galloway, grandfather of the builder of "Tulip Hill,"⁴⁹ Richard Arnold, builder of "Sudley," Benjamin Lawrence, Thomas and Solomon Sparrow, George Skipwith,⁵⁰ William Coale, Sr., and William Coale, Jr., Richard Talbott and his son Edward Talbott of "Poplar Knowle" (later "Tulip Hill"), John Larkin, Philip Thomas and others. Those affiliated at West River through the Herring Creek and Cliffs Meetings included Samuel Chew, Christopher and Abraham Birkhead, Richard Harrison,⁵¹ Francis Billingsley, Williams Mears, Richard Johns,⁵² Joseph Chew,⁵³ Samuel Griffith,⁵⁴ John Gary, Richard Hall and Peter Sharpe.

In 1833 Anne Pemberton,⁵⁵ then of Philadelphia, the owner of the land surrounding Old Quaker Burying Ground, executed a deed conveying the hallowed spot to three trustees, Samuel Snowden, John Cowman and John Chew Thomas⁵⁶ and their "heirs and assigns . . . in trust nevertheless for the Society of Friends belonging to the Indian Spring Monthly Meeting⁵⁷ in the State of Maryland for a meeting house and burial ground or such other uses as the said Indian Spring Monthly Meeting shall by minute thereof direct and appoint but for no other use, intent or purpose whatsoever."⁵⁸ This deed is in full agreement with the original intent of Thomas Hooker, Sr., in whose will we find the words "and to be wholly of their service forever." While it is not known that the trustees named in this deed were at the time active Quakers, their families had previously been identified with

⁴⁸ *Pedigrees and Notes* (New York, 1883). Records of the West River Quaker Meeting, Stony Run Meeting House, 5116 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland, notes that he was buried at Quaker Burying Ground.

⁴⁹ L. Morris Leisenring, "Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (September, 1952), pp. 188-208.

⁵⁰ Lawrence Buckley Thomas, D.D., *The Thomas Book* (New York, 1896), p. 287, states that he was Sir George Skipwith, Bart. Contemporary Quaker genealogists doubt this.

⁵¹ Cf. "Holland's Hills," now "Holly Hill," Anne Arundel County. James W. Foster, "Holly Hill, Early Plantation Home in Anne Arundel County," *Md. Hist. Mag.* XLI (December 1946), 327-329.

⁵² Founder of the Johns family in Maryland.

⁵³ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers from 1650-1689* (London, 1753), II, 378-380.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Not to be confused with Anne Galloway Pemberton, only daughter of Joseph Galloway. She was her daughter.

⁵⁶ West River Meeting Records, Homewood. Old Record Book, p. 27.

⁵⁷ A later Quaker Meeting which temporarily took over some of the affairs of West River Quakers.

⁵⁸ Anne Arundel County Land Records, Liber WSG #2, f. 516, Hall of Records.

the movement. It is doubtful whether the meeting house was in active use by Quakers during the next twenty or thirty years.

In 1867 there is another deed among the Land Records of Anne Arundel County from Charles C. Stewart and wife, Hannah, conveying the Burying Ground to a different set of trustees.⁵⁹ In this instance the Society of Friends is not mentioned and thus, it is presumed that the official connection with them had ended. The Stewarts owned the land surrounding the Burying Ground in 1867, and it is likely that the deed executed to the trustees in that year was to protect and preserve the hallowed ground.

The trustees in the 1867 deed were Thomas J. Richardson, A. Murray Thomas and T. J. Franklin, who were descendants of Quakers buried there. The stated purpose of the deed was to "confirm the parties hereinafter conveyed as a burial place for themselves and families." Under the deed the trustees were to have and to hold the old burial ground "for the use and benefit as a burial ground for the following named persons and their families and heirs, to wit:—T. J. Franklin, A. M. Thomas, James Cheston, Jr., Mary C. Hall, Nannie C. Hall, Mary T. Hall, James Deale of Jas., J. Franklin Deale, James Cheston, Sr., Franklin Waters, Thomas J. Richardson and such others as the said trustees or their survivors may grant permission to and for no other use or purpose whatsoever." All of the families of those named in this deed had had Quaker connections.

Administration of the property continued through the trustees under the 1867 deed until 1888 when a new group of trustees was appointed by the General Assembly of Maryland to act as a corporation. In a petition to the General Assembly for the passage of such an act the following appears: "Whereas by deed dated the 22nd day of May in the year 1867, and recorded among the Land Records of Anne Arundel County in Liber F. E. G. #3, Folio 110, etc. Charles C. Stewart and Hannah M. H. Stewart, his wife, did convey to Thomas J. Richardson, A. Murray Thomas and Thomas J. Franklin, Trustees, and the survivor or survivors of them, with power to such survivor or survivors to fill any vacancy occurring in their number, a parcel of land in said county, known as the Quaker Burial Ground, and particularly described in said deed by metes and bounds in trust to them and their successors

⁵⁹ Anne Arundel County Land Records, Office of Clerk of Circuit Court, Annapolis, Liber FEG #3, f. 110.

to hold the same for the use and benefit as burying ground for the persons named in said deed and their families and heirs, and such others the said trustees or survivors might grant permission to; and, whereas, experience had shown that it is desirable to have burial grounds subject to the laws, rules and regulations of a corporation in order to secure to the living the continual protection of the remains of their dead; and, whereas, the said Thomas J. Richardson and A. Murray Thomas, two of said trustees, have since died, and C. Morris Cheston and John Thomas Hall have been duly appointed trustees in their place and stead, and the said Thomas J. Franklin, C. Morris Cheston and John Thomas Hall, all residents of Anne Arundel County, aforesaid, have prayed for an act of incorporation for the purposes aforesaid."

An act incorporating the trustees of West River Quaker Burial Ground in whose survivors now rests the title, was enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, February 15, 1888.⁶⁰ Since that time its affairs have been administered by succeeding trustees, who have all served without compensation. At present the trustees are Mrs. Eugenia Hall Grey, Mrs. Alma Hartge Strong and Mr. E. Churchill Murray, all of Anne Arundel County. Two of the trustees are directly descended from founders of the West River Quaker Meeting; Mrs. Grey, from Philip Thomas (immigrant) and Mr. Murray, from Richard Galloway, 1st.

Today, while there are virtually no Quakers in Anne Arundel County and the Old Burying Ground has become non-sectarian,⁶¹ it receives the same reverence and attention as it did when it was laid out nearly three hundred years ago. The early Quakers left no stones or markers to identify the graves of their dead. The meeting house has long since disappeared. Now only the archives of history furnish the link between West River Quaker Burial Ground and the Society of Friends. The question comes naturally, therefore, as to what happened to the powerful forces of Quakerism that dominated southern Anne Arundel County throughout the latter portion of the 17th and part of the 18th centuries.

One of the main reasons for this came from within Quakerism itself by edicts of the meetings against the ownership of slaves.

⁶⁰ *Laws of Maryland, 1888*, Chapter 17, "An Act to Incorporate the Trustees of the West River Quaker Burial Ground," approved February 15, 1888.

⁶¹ Persons of other denominations have been buried there since 1785. The oldest grave stone is dated 1812 and marks the grave of Mary Deale.

Almost from the beginning there were rumblings in the various meetings and advices from the leaders against this practice.⁶² As the influence of Quakerism to the northward became more powerful the Quaker planters of southern Anne Arundel County in the West River and Herring Creek Meetings were finally forced to face the issue squarely. Tobacco was their means of livelihood and was a medium of exchange in the markets of the Province. Slaves were indispensable in their farming operations; without them they faced economic ruin. When the time came that the meetings decided ownership of slaves was ground for disownment,⁶³ many of the larger planters of the area withdrew from the Society of Friends rather than face the edict of their elders, while only a few bowed to the sense of the Meetings and manumitted their slaves.

Another reason for the decline of Quakerism sprang from the establishment of the Church of England in 1692. Until then Quakers could practice their faith in freedom of conscience and without government interference. With the church law came a public tax upon men, women and slaves for the support of the church⁶⁴ and its clergy regardless of religious affiliation. Quakers, already contributing to their own Meetings, were forced to pay this tax of forty pounds of tobacco per year, per poll.⁶⁵ A number of the former Quaker planters embraced the faith of the Established Church. This was particularly true of descendants of the early Quakers, whose families had first been members of the English Church. A further decline in Quakerism occurred when the planters became prosperous and were no longer content to live in the humility and under the discipline of Quakerism.

Finally, during the latter part of the 18th century, the missionaries of John Wesley swept through Anne Arundel and Calvert Counties, making converts and setting up meeting places of their own. Many former Quakers joined the new faith, Methodism. Not had such energy and zeal been displayed as by the Methodist circuit riders, since the coming of the first Quaker messengers to Anne Arundel County in 1656.⁶⁶ By 1789 the Calvert Circuit of

⁶² J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1862), p. 22.

⁶³ Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (September 1950), 215-225.

⁶⁴ *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 425.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

⁶⁶ "Journal of William Colbert," see letter from Jacob S. Payton to the author, July 14, 1956.

Methodism, including southern Anne Arundel and upper Calvert Counties, was the largest in membership in the United States.⁶⁷

The affairs of the West River and Herring Creek Meetings were finally taken over by the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends about 1785.⁶⁸ The conditions brought about by the Civil War probably broke the last official link between Old Quaker Burying Ground and the Society of Friends.⁶⁹ Although the Meetings moved away from the area to the larger centers of population to the northward and westward where slavery was not an economic factor, most of the former Quakers and families remained. Today, in southern Anne Arundel County, we find reflected the same quiet attributes and qualities of its Quaker founders: fierce independence, strict conservatism and reliance upon the teachings of Almighty God. It is one of the strongholds of early Maryland's charm and tradition.

⁶⁷ History of West River Circuit 1836-1942. Published in connection with the consecration of the Centenary Methodist Church, Shady Side, Maryland, July 26, 1942.

⁶⁸ C C L Book, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ Maryland's sympathies were sharply divided. Because of the distance from the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, it was not practical for the Society of Friends to properly care for and superintend the Old Meeting and Burying Ground.

JOHN FERDINAND DALZIEL SMYTH: LOYALIST

By HAROLD HANCOCK

THE strains and stresses of war bring out the best and worst in men. Some emerge as heroes and others as villains. John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth combined both qualities: he performed brave deeds and endured hardships, but he embellished these, and in addition proclaimed himself owner of vast properties, which he never possessed.

Few non-controversial facts are known about his early life and career. According to his own statements, he was born in the highlands of Scotland in 1748, and he emigrated to America in 1763. During the next dozen years he was a storekeeper or physician in North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland.¹

The most substantial account of his activities during the American Revolution is presented in his book *A Tour in the United States of America* published in 1784. While the basic narrative is apparently trustworthy, his own role and hardships are greatly exaggerated, and he inserted anecdotes of doubtful authenticity. In the following paragraphs a brief condensation of this portion of his book is presented.²

In the fall of 1775, Smyth was living in Charles County, Maryland. After one of his servants died from mistreatment by rebels in Baltimore and his own safety was imperiled, he joined Lord Dunmore at Norfolk. In November, 1775, Dunmore sent him upon a secret expedition to the Ohio Valley and Canada under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly. Its purposes included organizing an attack upon Pittsburg and sending reinforcements to Dunmore's forces at Norfolk via the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico.

¹ Public Record Office, London, Eng. Audit Office 12/6, pp. 89, 90. Henceforth Public Record Office will be abbreviated as PRO, and Audit Office, as AO. The author owns microfilms of the Smyth items in the Public Record Office.

² John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, *A Tour in the United States of America*, 2 vol. (London, 1784), I, pp. 180 ff.

Unfortunately, the party was captured at "Hagar's Town" and imprisoned at Frederickstown. Smyth wrote that "upon this [occasion] we were actually robbed of our money, by Samuel Chase and the committee, the chairman of which was named John Hanson, and he has since then become a President of the American Congress, who left us only a guinea each. . . ." After a few weeks Smyth escaped and travelled through ice and snow over the Allegheny Mountains, but he was subsequently recaptured and returned to Frederickstown.

Under a heavy guard he was transported to Philadelphia. For three weeks he claimed that he was confined in a fireless cell without a chair, a table, a bed, a blanket, or straw and with little food and water. Then he was transferred to a cell, which he shared with Connolly and another prisoner. Six months of close confinement impaired their health, and a committee of three doctors and two members of Congress was appointed to examine the prisoners. According to Smyth, Thomas McKean, who was one of the congressional members, distinguished himself upon this occasion by abusing in grossest terms the King, Parliament, and the British Army and by threatening them with death if the British executed any American prisoners.

Fear that the British might attack Philadelphia caused Congress in December, 1776, to order the removal of many prisoners to Baltimore. On bleeding feet and in irons, Smyth marched 150 miles. When a servant girl in Newport, Delaware, expressed sympathy for the prisoners, she was beaten by her master and mistress, was thrown out into the cold, and was abused by the guards.

In January, 1777, he bribed his attendants to permit him to escape from confinement in Baltimore. In a small boat he sailed down Chesapeake Bay and up the Nanticoke River. Some Tories concealed him in a woods near Princess Anne. There he found that the loyalists of Somerset County, Maryland, and of Sussex County, Delaware, were ready to stage an insurrection, but believing that they would suffer complete defeat without assistance from British forces, he was instrumental in persuading them to postpone the uprising.

On March 12, 1777, a party of eleven persons, including Thomas Robinson, Boaz Manlove, and Simon Kollock, all three of whom were prominent Delaware loyalists, rowed out of Indian

River inlet in a "canoe" hollowed out of a log, seeking refuge upon a British ship. In spite of a storm, they reached the *Preston*, man of war, safely and were transported to New York.

Smyth is vague about his activities during the next three years. In New York he received a commission as a Captain in the Queen's American Rangers from General Howe. He participated in an expedition against Danbury, Connecticut. During the fall of 1777, he recruited 185 soldiers for the British Army near Philadelphia. By 1780 he had returned to England.

The grant of an annual allowance by loyalist commissioners there in 1780 of £100, which was doubled in 1781, seemed only a just recognition of the services and hardships of a devoted supporter of the British government.³

On January 1, 1784, he submitted a memorial to the loyalist commissioners concerning his sufferings and property losses. The narrative was similar to that in his book, though the language was more colorful. By joining His Majesty's service, he had lost an income of £1,500 per year. Following his escape from Hagerstown, he had crossed "over the Alegany [*sic*] mountains, the most difficult and dangerous in America, in the depth of a most rigorous winter, and encountered a series of perils & Hardships not to be exceeded. . . ." For eighteen months he had been imprisoned "IN DUNGEONS, IN IRONS, and subsisted only on BREAD AND WATER." He had been marched from Philadelphia to Baltimore "IN IRONS, and FORCED ON WITH BAYONETS, when his BOOTS WERE FILLED WITH BLOOD, proceeding from blisters on his feet that had broke by marching on hard frozen ground. . . ." On board the *Preston*, he had assisted in the capture of four vessels, but he had modestly requested no share of the prize money.⁴

In partial compensation for the loss of thousands of acres of land, he had asked the Privy Council in 1783 for the grant of Yametta or Long Island in the Bahamas, but the request had been turned down, since the British government had not completed the purchase of the Bahamas from the original proprietors.⁵

³ PRO, AO 12/106, pp. 19, 20.

⁴ PRO, AO 12/6, pp. 72-76. A printed copy of the memorial is in PRO, AO 13/62. See J. F. D. Smyth, *The Memorial of John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, Esq., Late Commandant of the Royal Hunters, and of the Queen's American Rangers* (London, 1784), pp. 11-16.

⁵ PRO, AO 12/6, pp. 75, 76. Smyth tried to secure the assistance of Lord

Eleven pages of his memorial were devoted to property losses. Personal property losses in Virginia, such as slaves, cattle, and a schooner, totaled £5,250, and those in Maryland, £4,042.10. The rebels had confiscated three estates in Charles County, Maryland, valued at £8,400. In addition, Smyth had lost property in several counties in Virginia and in Bute County, North Carolina, worth £6,252. He also presented miscellaneous claims for back pay, for recruiting 185 soldiers at £5.5 per head, and for the losses of horses and equipment. All of his numerous claims totaled £31,582. He placed no estimate of value upon 50,000 to 60,000 acres of land he owned along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.⁶

Smyth's assertions concerning his military service were attested to by numerous certificates. Lord Dunmore wrote that he had sent Smyth on a secret mission to the back country. Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly testified to Smyth's participation in a western expedition and to his sufferings during a long captivity, "which he supported with the perseverance and fortitude of a brave and loyal Britain." A lieutenant of the *Preston* certified that the claimant had barely reached the deck of the warship when his canoe sank in a storm and that he had assisted in the capture of four prizes. Generals Clinton and Howe wrote that they had been informed of his captivity and sufferings. Adjutant-General Patterson reported that in the fall of 1777 Captain Smyth had recruited 180 men, "the finest body of men hitherto raised in America."⁷

Less numerous and less impressive were supporting documents about property losses. At Smyth's request in the fall of 1775, Colonels W. Byrd and F. Thornton of Virginia and Joseph Young and Judge Plowman of Maryland had supposedly signed a lengthy inventory of his property in those two states. Five former employees who were in New York in 1780 signed a joint statement that he had lost property "to the value of many thousand pounds."⁸

Sydney and of T. Townshend in this effort. See his letters of March 14, 1783, to Lord Sydney and of February 15, 1783, to T. Townshend in PRO, Foreign Office 4/1, pp. 14-17. Smyth's memorial to the Privy Council was referred to a committee on April 2, 1783, and he gave evidence on May 1, 1783. See PRO, Privy Council 1/61, Pt. 1.

⁶ PRO 12/6, pp. 77-88.

⁷ Smyth, *Memorial*, pp. 11-16.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3. The statement of the Maryland and Virginia officials is in PRO, 13/62, and is dated September 19, 1775. It is in Smyth's handwriting and is

Concerning his character, Peyton Randolph, Speaker of the Virginia Assembly, wrote that he had known Smyth when he had practiced physic near Williamsburg and that "his personal merits and private virtues" entitled him to favorable recommendation. Randolph stated that his late Excellency, Lord Botetourt, had always taken particular notice of the physician who "was one of the best families, and was very nearly related to many of the first nobility in Great Britain."⁹

After reviewing Smyth's memorial, the loyalist commissioners increased his temporary allowance of £200, with the comment:

This Gentleman distinguished himself very much by his exertions in favour of Government & was no less distinguished by the hardships & sufferings he underwent. His real & personal estate was likewise very great & we think him therefore entitled to an augmentation of £100 per Ann.¹⁰

This allowance of £300 marked the height of Smyth's success, as the commissioners henceforth became suspicious of his claims and investigated them. A number of persons from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, who were then living in England, testified that he had greatly exaggerated his importance and losses. He was summoned to a series of conferences in May and June, 1784, with disastrous results.

The commissioners had received evidence from Robert Nelson, formerly of Halifax, North Carolina, that Smyth had been brought to that town in 1763 as an indentured storekeeper by Patrick Copeland. He had failed to pay a note for £20 and had been arrested. Nelson had provided bail. During the next few years, Nelson said that Smyth had worked as a storekeeper for John Thompson of Halifax and for William Black of Bute County. He had also been employed as a tutor for the children of Dr. Frederick Schultzier of Halifax. In 1770 he was practicing medicine in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Nelson claimed that "Smyth had always a trick of Shooting with a long bow—[of lying]." ¹¹

entitled "Copy of a Valuation or Estimate of Estates and Property in possession of J. F. D. Smyth Esq. of Charles County, Maryland, at the time he left that province and set out for the Mississippi." It is of dubious authenticity, but it was not investigated by the loyalist commissioners.

⁹ Smyth, *Memorial*, p. 15. The portion of the printed statement about his being a physician at Williamsburg was written in ink.

¹⁰ PRO, AO 12/106, pp. 9, 10.

¹¹ PRO, AO 12/6, pp. 123, 124.

Under questioning, Smyth admitted that he had been employed by these persons, though he denied ever having been an indentured storekeeper or having signed a note. He said that Black had hired him as superintendent of his estates and business.¹²

Several witnesses from Maryland provided information about his activities in that colony. Their combined evidence revealed that in 1770 Smyth had boarded with James Mills at Chaptico in St. Mary's County and had practiced medicine. Mills had requested him to leave as a troublesome fellow. His next landlord had sued him for non-payment for board. In 1774 he had rented a plantation from a Mr. Baltripe, who had later sued him for rent. He was fleeing to Virginia with some horses in 1775, when he was overtaken and the horses confiscated.¹³

Robert Buchanan, formerly of Maryland, declared that "Smyth was so notorious a liar that nobody would believe him." John Anderson, who had come to London from Charles County, doubted that Smyth owned any slaves, "was sure he had not a foot of land, and would not have trusted him with a single shilling." Smyth had made much of the value of his horses and of his famous stallion "Smiling Tom"; Anderson pointed out that in 1775 this horse was about twenty-five years old and worth less than thirty guineas.¹⁴

Uriah Forrest, formerly of St. Mary's County, who had been appointed by the Maryland legislature as one of the commissioners to dispose of loyalist property reported that none had been confiscated from Smyth. Peyton Randolph Grimes believed that the Virginia statesman's signature was authentic, although no members of the Randolph family had ever heard of the good doctor.¹⁵

Even Smyth's military record was assailed. In May, 1779, he had brought court-martial proceedings against Lieutenant-Colonel John Simcoe upon numerous charges, the most serious of which was the drafting of men out of his company into others. He also had accused Simcoe of refusing him promotions, of releasing

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-126. These are the statements of John Anderson and Uriah Forrest. Condensations of the evidence presented by a number of loyalists are in "Information Respect[ing] J. F. D. Smyth" and in "Informations with regard to John Ferdinand Dalziel Smythe [*sic*]; claiming as a Maryland loyalist" in PRO AO 12/62. Information was provided by Robert Nelson, James Parker, Robert Buchanan, Richard Lee, Robert Mundel, and James Ingram.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ PRO, AO 12/6, pp. 106, 107, 124-126.

soldiers from confinement against his orders, and of lack of cooperation. During the trial most of these charges were repudiated, and Smyth was revealed to be an untrustworthy individual, with a "virulent and malignant temper," who sometimes punched, kicked, or throttled soldiers and domestic servants. Simcoe questioned whether Smyth had ever been properly commissioned as a Captain. Lord Dunmore in 1775 had presented him only with a commission as physician, and it was uncertain whether Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly had appointed him to this rank later in that year. Simcoe claimed that soldiers disliked serving in Smyth's company and that Smyth avoided military service whenever possible. Simcoe believed that the foundations of the accusation were "Malice and Falsehoods." A copy of a portion of these proceedings was added to the records of the loyalist commissioners, including the verdict, which declared Simcoe not guilty and which stated that Smyth's charges were "Malicious, Frivolous, Vexatious, & Groundless."¹⁶

Finally, the commissioners questioned Smyth about his property claims. The loyalist voluntarily declared that titles to his estates had been lost during his travels in the first months of the war. He asserted his complete and full ownership of all enumerated properties.¹⁷

Using the testimony of witnesses, the commissioners wrung from the claimant the reluctant information that the Baltripe property and some of his Virginia estates had been leased. One Virginia property, he said, had been conveyed to him by deed of gift from John Apperson, whose daughter he had expected to marry, but the wedding had not taken place, and when he had left that colony because of a judgment against him, he had again placed Apperson in possession. The commissioners continued to question him concerning his properties, and Smyth asked permission to consider his answers for a few days, a request which was granted.¹⁸

On June 7, he submitted a revised claim, stating that he had never expected to be compensated fully for his losses. He declared:

¹⁶ PRO, War Office 71/50. The court martial took place from May 4-8, 1779, on Long Island.

¹⁷ PRO, AO 12/6, pp. 91, 92.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 108, 109.

The nature & Extent of the Compensation, which I would expect or solicit, being only such a Quantity of Land as by His Majesty's proclamation I would have been intitled to receive from my rank in the Army in America, and as much as might enable me to settle and cultivate the same with some degree of Emolument to myself and the community; and in consideration of my early Exertions, unexampled Sufferings (to the utter ruin of my Constitution), & Services, in favor of British Government, together with the Loss of profession as well as the other annual Losses herein specified. . . .

In his revised memorial, he waived claims to all property in Maryland, to all in Virginia, except in Mecklenburg County, and to all in North Carolina, except in Bute County, but he persisted in his claims of ownership of thousands of acres in the Ohio Valley and along the Mississippi River. He stated that his annual income had been as follows:

Income from cropping of £1,640, from which £440 should be deducted for expenses	£1,200
Income from medical practice	500
Income from breeding and sale of horses	200
	<hr/> £1,900

He pleaded with the commissioners to settle his claims speedily because he owed debts of £185 for living expenses in London, besides £160 for the publication of his two-volume work upon America. He and his wife lived upon the plainest diet, drinking only water and "table beer." His health necessitated his keeping a horse, but his only entertainment was an annual visit to the exhibition at the Royal Academy.¹⁹

Before arriving at a decision, the commissioners reviewed the portion of his book concerning his revolutionary activities. They noted a number of minor geographical inaccuracies, but decided that these might have been due to carelessness. They also questioned Smyth's account of his having been robbed by a committee of safety at Frederickstown, Maryland. Samuel Chase, whom Smyth mentioned as a member of the group, was then in London, and he denied that he had ever been a member of the committee. When the commissioners suggested to Smyth that Chase might be summoned to testify, the outraged loyalist

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-114.

haughtily replied: "In regard to calling on Mr. Chase or any other rebel Testimony on my behalf, I thank God I am not yet humbled so low, nor would I consider life itself as worth such a purchase."²⁰

After considering all the evidence, the commissioners pronounced his property claims of £31,582 "fraudulent" and discontinued his annual allowance.²¹

In despair, Smyth wrote to Lord Sydney on August 12, 1784, and asked his assistance in placing him on the half-pay army list. He pointed out:

I performed every condition several times over;—I took a more early decided part than almost any other person;—I suffered more than any other without exception, and made greater exertions;—I personally, and without even the assistance of a subaltern, raised more *chosen men* than any other officer in his Majesty's dominions and at my own expence, after I was a Captain, and without any emolument, advantage, or even a step in rank;—and I also served in the most active line of duty more than 4 years, being scarcely a week without being engaged in some action, or skirmish, untill my health was totally destroyed, which obliged me to return to England for the preservation of life.²²

Smyth turned to the commissioners on September 6, 1784, and asked them to grant him a temporary allowance until he began to receive the half-pay of a Captain. In reviewing the case, the commissioners commented that the case was "a very singular one." Concerning property claims, he was "an Impostor"; on the other hand, he had been "an active & zealous loyalist upon Principle." They finally declared:

Having said this & having said that he was a Loyalist (which is all the good we can say of him) it becomes necessary for us to say for our own Justification that we continue to be of Opinion that he has committed gross & wilfull Perjury & that we only recommend the small allowance which we have named upon this Principle that the greatest Criminal ought not to be permitted to starve untill he is brought to public Punishment.

Smyth was granted a temporary allowance of £90 per annum.²³

On November 21, 1787, Smyth requested a larger allowance. He had migrated to Jamaica to practice medicine in 1785, but

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119, and "Informations with regard to John Ferdinand Dalziel Smythe [sic] . . ." in PRO, AO 13/62.

²¹ PRO, AO 12/101, pp. 72, 73.

²² PRO, Foreign Office 4/1, p. 170.

²³ PRO, AO 13/62.

within sixteen days after his arrival a hurricane had destroyed his property, and he had decided to return to England. Upon landing he had been arrested by the sheriff of Devonshire and jailed for one year for non-payment of debts. Unfortunately, the condition of his finances had not permitted him to engage in a lawsuit for damages for this unjust imprisonment. About a month ago, he had been arrested for failure to pay a bill of £15 for house rent in 1784, and he would be jailed unless he received financial assistance. His wife and he lived frugally, neither one having tasted wine, spirits, or strong beer for several years. He felt that he had been poorly compensated for his services during the American Revolution, and for recruiting "300" men, a larger number than procured by any six captains. He also asserted:

Likewise, upon the peace, it was entirely owing to my representation, that Great Britain retained possession of the grand ports in Canada, of Niagara, Detroit, Michimewanac, &c which she still most judiciously holds. . . .

Apparently, no action was taken concerning his petition.²⁴

In a memorial presented in 1791, he stated his claims for compensation in even more colorful and vigorous language. He boldly asserted that in 1775 he had been instrumental in saving Upper Canada from rebel attack, for even though he had been made a prisoner *en route*, he had sent ahead a messenger with important dispatches. Previously he had described the Allegheny Mountains as the highest in America, but now he proclaimed them "the most inaccessible and extensive perhaps in the world." After embellishing other portions of his earlier narrative, he concluded:

Thus, it appears that your memorialist has faithfully, honourably, and, most importantly, served his Majesty, in arms from the year 1774, being always placed in the post of honor; and, besides, that long after he was a captain, with his company full and complete, he raised a light corps of near 200 selected men, cavalry and infantry at his own expence; who fought with distinguished bravery during all the war, and were the flower of the whole British army, yet he received for them no consideration whatsoever, not even in rank; and he ventures to say, that no officer in his Majesty's service, besides himself, *ever did* the like.

What had been his reward? The discontinuation of an allowance

²⁴ PRO, AO 13/62.

of £300 because of the testimony of unknown persons, a procedure which he believed similar to that used in the Spanish Inquisition.²⁵

In a printed presentation of his case in 1807, which included the above memorial and other information, he mentioned that in 1795 and in 1796, he had been a physician in Admiral Christian's fleet in the West Indies and had been shipwrecked upon three occasions. He had been present at the capture of St. Lucia and had suffered from yellow fever in Santo Domingo. In his usual braggart manner, he asserted:

That he had the happiness of stopping the mortality of that dreadful malady at that time, and after his return to England gave in proposals for the conquest of New Orleans and all Louisiana, to the War Secretary, who entirely approved of it as a measure of the very highest importance, and he was to command the expedition. But in the meantime Buonparte had obtained it from Spain by negotiation, and sold it to the Americans, &c &c &c.

In spite of his claims for rewards for his services and for his valuable suggestions, he received no compensation.²⁶

The preface of his printed memorial of 1807 consisted of two letters to the Earl of Moira, who had protested against his assumption of the Stuart name. Smyth wrote that he was a descendant of the Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II, and that he was, therefore, entitled to the use of the family name of Stuart. He explained that his father was the son of the Duke of Monmouth and of Lady Henrietta Maria Wentworth by an "illegal" marriage. Lady Wentworth dying six months after the execution of the Duke, his father had been reared by a Colonel Smyth, formerly aide-de-camp to that nobleman in Flanders, who had given him his name and had bequeathed him his fortune. Because of this family background, John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth had used the Stuart coat of arms for many years, and, more recently, he had added to his name "Stuart." It is doubtful that this explanation satisfied the Earl of Moira.²⁷

Smyth published privately in 1808 an epic poem entitled *Destiny and Fortitude: An Historical Poem. In Sixteen Elegies*.

²⁵ J. F. D. Smyth, *The Case of Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, With his Memorials to the King, the Lords of the Treasury &c and Vouchers of his Public Services, Sufferings, &c in the Cause of his Country, During Thirty-Three Years from Many Persons of the Highest Rank and Character* (London, 1807), pp. 4, 5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, preface, no pagination.

Being a Detail of the Misfortunes of the Illustrations House of Stuart "by Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, the Nearest Descendant." The only two portraits were of Mary Stuart and of himself, and many of the stanzas related to his own misfortunes during the American Revolution. A portion of Elegy Six entitled "War and Captivity" presents Smyth's interpretation of how the revolt began and of how he suffered imprisonment:

Rebellion now had rear'd her gory head,
Her ruffian hordes rush forth in rude array,
Of order, law, and government instead,
The standard of sedition high display.

Britain's degenerate outcasts here unite,
In this vile principle alone agree,
Revolt and fell confusion to excite,
Under the guise of sacred liberty.

Germanic slaves, fair freedom's fatal foes,
Hibernia's outlaws flock to faction's aid;
Sweet peace, and unsuspecting soft repose,
From lost Columbia for ever strayed.

These hosts of hell, all marshall'd in array,
Spread dire destructive rapine far around,
Oppression, violence, and dread dismay,
And horrid cruelties and crimes abound.

A destin'd victim to vindictive rage,
Because to freedom a decided friend,
In honour's just support I dar'd engage,
My injur'd King and Country to defend.

O'erpower'd by ruffian multitudes, and thrown
In dungeons dark, with massy chains secur'd,
For eighteen months on mouldy bread alone
And water, thus protracted life endured.

Despoil'd and plunder'd, basely robb'd of all,
Languid and fainting in a dreary cell,
Nor help nor comfort left within my call;
No tongue their shocking cruelties can tell.²⁸

How these verses were received by the public is unknown, but it is doubtful that they aided either Smyth or the Stuart cause.

Thereafter Smyth-Stuart disappeared from public notice. His struggle of twenty-five years to have the British government pay him compensation for property losses and for military service

²⁸ Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, *Destiny and Fortitude* (London, 1808), pp. 9, 10.

had availed him nothing. Perhaps a psychologist would find the explanation of his fantastic claims concerning property, bravery, and descent in his family background of illegitimacy and in his lack of security. While he did perform some heroic services during the American Revolution, in most other respects he was conclusively demonstrated to be a liar, with an exaggerated notion of his own importance.

Upon granting Smyth an allowance of £90 per annum in the fall of 1784, the loyalist commissioners closed the case with the statement:

In the meantime it is not only charitable but just to suppose that every Man is innocent until he is convicted and therefore we conceive that we are perfectly consistent *in this Stage of the Business* in recommending an Allowance adequate to his Military Situation. How long that will continue must Circumstances & the Judgment of those in whose hands we leave it decide, with a perfect Confidence that *they will correct errors into which we may have fallen* and do compleat Justice to Mr. Smyth.

Like the commissioners, we leave to others to correct any errors and to do justice to him.²⁹

²⁹ PRO, AO 12/101, pp. 72, 73.

SIDELIGHTS

A FORGOTTEN LETTER OF FRANCIS SCOTT KEY

Edited by FRANKLIN R. MULLALY

A recent general survey of the manuscript collection at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia conducted by Museum Curator David H. Wallace of the National Park Service revealed the existence of an important letter written by Francis Scott Key. This letter from Key to his mother was written in Georgetown on September 2, 1814, and discusses the British attack on Washington as well as his plans for the historic visit to the British fleet that provided the occasion for his composition of the national anthem.

The records of the Museum at Independence Hall indicate only that the letter was a gift from Alice C. Etting of Philadelphia on November 29, 1873. Further research at the Maryland Historical Society produced more information concerning the background of this letter. It was discovered that Alice C. Etting was Alice Taney Campbell Etting, a granddaughter of Chief Justice R. B. Taney, a brother-in-law of Francis Scott Key.¹

Her husband Col. Frank M. Etting was a prominent Philadelphia lawyer, soldier and scholar who was active in the establishment of a museum at Independence Hall in preparation for the Centennial Exposition of 1876. Col. Etting was also a grand-nephew of Pvt. Samuel Etting of the Baltimore Fencibles who was wounded in the British attack on Fort M'Henry which inspired the national anthem. Some of Samuel Etting's camp equipment used in the battle is to be found in the museum at the Maryland Historical Society.²

The text of the letter, which follows, should be of some value to students of the period and of interest to all readers of this *Magazine*:

Geo Town
2 Sep: 1814

My Dr Mother—

You have made allowances, I hope, for our confusion & anxiety here, & have therefore excused my not writing sooner. Indeed for two or three days after our disgrace I had neither time or mind to do anything. And since then I have been much engaged. — I had however a promise from

¹ Bernard C. Steiner, *Life of Roger Brooke Taney* (Baltimore, 1922), p. 44.

² Eleanor S. Cohen, *Family of Etting* (Typescript in Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1931), *passim*.

Mr. Munro that he would write to Taney often & soon, so that you might know I was well. — You have since no doubt heard how mercifully we have all been spared here, the Enemy not even entering our Town, which I am sure they would have done, had they not gone off with such unnecessary precipitation [*sic*]. — They have today left Alexandria, & I trust we shall see no more of them. — I hope we shall be grateful to God for this deliverance, & remember how much more light our chastisement has been that we expected or deserved. —

I am going in the morning to Balte to proceed in a flag-vessel to Genl Ross. Old Dr Beanes of Marlbro' is taken prisoner by the Enemy, who threaten to carry him off — Some of his friends have urged me to apply for a flag & go & try to procure his release.

I hope to return in about 8 or 10 days, though [it] is uncertain, as I do not know where to find the fleet. — as soon as I get back I hope I shall be able to set out for Fred^k —

The Children will be delighted to see their mother. — Give my love to them & to Papa —

God bless you my Dr Mother
Ever yr most affec^e Son
F. S. Key

EXCERPTS FROM TWO PINKNEY LETTER BOOKS

Edited by DOROTHY BROWN

"No more difficult, futile task has been assigned to an American diplomat."¹ So one critic assessed the problem confronting the colorful Marylander William Pinkney, American minister to Britain in the tense years 1807-1811. Famed as the first orator of his day and as a thunderous antagonist in Congress and before the Supreme Court, Pinkney scored most significantly perhaps in his persistent and restrained negotiations with British Foreign Secretary George Canning over the hotly contested Orders in Council of November 1807.

Pinkney's Memorial of the Merchants of Baltimore on the British interpretation of the Rule of 1756 and the violation of neutral rights presented to Congress in January, 1806 attracted the attention of Jefferson. Three months later the Republican President appointed Pinkney as joint commissioner with James Monroe in London to treat with the British on impressment and reparations. In October, 1807, after the failure of the abortive treaty signed by Pinkney and Monroe ignoring American views on impressment, Monroe returned to Washington leaving Pinkney alone to restrain Britain.

While the Tory Cabinet of the Duke of Portland listened to the argu-

¹ J. J. Dolan, "William Pinkney," DAB, XIV, 627.

ments of Pinkney it also faced a public that demanded vigorous action and retaliation against the Napoleonic Berlin Decrees enforced for the first time in the summer of 1807.² *Cobbett's Political Register* noted that "our power upon the waves enables us to dictate the terms, upon which the ships of all nations shall navigate. . . . Not a sail should be hoisted, except by stealth, without paying us tribute."³ With this attitude, Britain could not be expected to be overly sympathetic to the overtures of a minister representing her bumptious former colony.

Some of Pinkney's struggle related in his official correspondence is cited in *American State Papers*, III, including his November 23, 1807 dispatch summarizing cogently the American stand against the Orders in Council. In this public correspondence, he remains restrained, but in his private letters to Secretary of State Madison the natural assertiveness of Pinkney is given full range.

Two Letter Books of William Pinkney covering his correspondence from October 10, 1807 to September 30, 1808 reveal the rising temper and increased frustration of the diplomat. Presented to the Maryland Historical Society in December, 1949 by Mrs. Lawrence R. Carton, the books contain over eighty-one Pinkney letters, the bulk of which are addressed to Madison or Canning. Included are copies of sixteen notes received from Canning. The letters presented below, not contained in the *American State Papers*, are a sampling of Pinkney's difficulties and attitudes during two critical years of Anglo-American relations.

To Mr. Madison

London. Nov. 17, 1807

Sir.

I hasten to transmit to you, by an opportunity which will not allow me to do more, the Supplement (published yesterday & sent to me from Mr. Canning's office last night) to the London Gazette of Saturday last.—

It contains three most important orders of the King in Council, by which the Commerce of the U. S. is assailed in a way hitherto without Example, and all the established principles of public Law are sacrificed to a new, & certainly premature, System of Retaliation & of Force.—

It had been for several Days rumoured that such orders were about to make their appearance, and I had so much Reason to conclude that the Rumour was founded in Truth that I went to Downing Street on the 11th, for the double purpose of obtaining Information, & of endeavouring to prevent a Measure, so unjust in itself, & so obviously unseasonable.—Mr. Canning had, as I knew, been out of Town; and I found that he had not yet returned.—I was of course obliged to converse with Mr. Hammond,⁴ to which (although he did not avow the Intention of Government

² Bradford Perkins, "George Canning, Great Britain, and the United States, 1807-1809," *American Historical Review*, LXIII (October, 1957), 2.

³ Cited *ibid.*

⁴ George Hammond, undersecretary at the British Foreign Office, March, 1807-Sept., 1809. *DNB*. VIII, 1125-26.

to adopt immediately the System which Report had imputed to it) I thought it advisable to suggest all the leading considerations which appeared to me to forbid the adoption of it at all, but especially at the present Time.—It was my Intention to take an early occasion of conversing with Mr. Canning himself on this interesting Subject, and in the meantime I was not unwilling to hope that what I had said to Mr. Hammond might, if reported to him, as I presumed it would be, produce some Effect.—It appears, however, that the measure had been finally determined upon at the Moment of this conversation; for the orders were signed on the same Day, and, altho not published in the Gazette of Saturday, were announced in it for publication in a Supplement.—Stocks are said to have been depressed by the Knowledge of this Step, altho the arrival of a French Flag of Truce in the Downs (conjectured to be related to overtures of peace through the Mediation of Russia) made them recover.⁵

It is not to be doubted that Mr. Rose,⁶ who sailed only a few Days ago for the Chesapeake is instructed to communicate to our Government the Determination of G. B. to issue these orders; but it is nevertheless important that you sh^d be apprized as soon as possible that they are actually issued.—I have the Honor to be . . .

Private

To Mr. Madison

London. Decr 7th, 1807

Dear Sir.

I have the Honor to send herewith enclosed Duplicates of my Dispatches of the 23^d & 30th of last month, the originals of which were forwarded by the Othello for N. York.—I enclose also the Russian Declaration against this Country, the first & supplementary British Orders of Council relative to Neutral Trade, and the Report of the Committee of Merchants.—Nothing has taken place here since my last which I could make the Subject of a public Letter.

Some American vessels have been warned under the Orders of Council, & permitted, after coming in, to proceed on their Voyages, which however must now be full of Danger.—

There is every Probability that Swedes will either willingly or unwillingly, soon unite with Russia in her measures against England.—

⁵ According to the treaty ratified July 9, 1807, subsequent to the Tilsit meeting of Napoleon and Alexander I, Russia would offer mediation between France and Britain. If Britain should reject her overtures, which would include provisions for freedom of the seas, by November 1, 1807, Russia would exert pressure on Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, and Austria to join her in action against Britain. If Sweden refused, Denmark was to be urged to join Russia in war against her. E. M. Lloyd, "The Third Coalition," *The Cambridge Modern History*, ed. A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, et al. (New York, 1907), IX, 293.

⁶ George H. Rose, special emissary appointed by Canning to attempt to settle Chesapeake problem. Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Austria is already said to be a party to them.—The United States alone remain—And as if it was desirable to cast off the Friendship of all the World in this Hour of their greatest Peril, the British Gov^t persecutes us with the most injudicious wanton & extravagant aggression that ever was ventured upon by a nation in the arrogance of Prosperity & in the Fullness of unquestioned power.—I lament to say that this wild Measure continues to be more popular than it ought to be.—Most of the opposition with whom I have lately conversed arraign it as foolish rather than as unjust; but in general it is approved.—A portentous Delusion seems to have taken possession of the nation.—It was to have been confidently expected that the affair of Copenhagen⁷ w^d have alarmed an intelligent & a moral people by the prodigal Waste of National Character which it could not fail to produce, as well by the horrible violence which it offered to every thing like principle & even to the ordinary Maxims of Policy.—It has, however, scarcely excited a Murmur.—It is indeed understood that it will be assailed in parliament by the late Ministry & their adherents, except Tho. Grenville,⁸ & perhaps, Lord Grenville⁹—It is equally understood that this attack will end in nothing.—If Lord Grenville should (as some assert he will, altho, I incline to think erroneously) support the Copenhagen Business, it is believed that it will be the Signal of his Separation from a party with which he never has been cordial, and of an approaching Union with the present Ministers, who are said to desire extremely to bring Lord Grenville and the Marquis Wellesley into Office.—

Since my Letter of the 23rd of last month Mr. Bowdoin¹⁰ (for I have nothing from Genl. Armstrong¹¹ has put into my Hands a copy of a Letter from the French Minister of Justice to the Procurer General of the Council of Prizes, dated the 18th of September last, with which Genl. Armstrong has doubtless made you acquainted.—I enclose a copy of it.—It is perfectly certain that the British Gov^t had no knowledge of this Document when the Orders of Council were issued, and indeed that it has no knowledge of it even now.—They have heard of certain Declarations imputed to the Emperor of France at his Levees (with what Truth I know not) but these could hardly be considered as very certain Indications of what w^d be done, far less as constituting a Measure in themselves, against which there could be actual Retaliation through the Rights of Neutrals.—The Situation in which we are now placed by the Violence & Injustice of others is certainly an arduous one; but it will be met by our

⁷ British expedition under Admiral Gambier had seized Danish fleet, September 2-5, 1807 after negotiations for the peaceable transfer to Britain failed. J. Steven Watson, *The Reign of George III, 1760-1815*, Vol. XII of *Oxford History of England*, ed. Sir George Clark (14 vols.; Oxford, 1960), p. 456.

⁸ Thomas Grenville, once instrumental in negotiations of Anglo-American treaty ending Revolutionary War, served as First Lord of Admiralty under Lord Grenville's ministry until it fell in 1807. *DNB*, VIII, 575-76.

⁹ Lord William Wyndham Grenville, First Lord of Treasury in Ministry of all Talents which fell in 1807. *DNB*, VIII, 577-81.

¹⁰ James Bowdoin, American Minister to Spain, 1805-1808. *DAB*, II, 501-2.

¹¹ John Armstrong, American Minister to Paris, *DAB*, I, 355-58.

Govt with all the Temper, Wisdom & Firmness which it so imperiously requires, & by our people with the patriotism which belongs to them.—War between the U. S. & G. B. is not generally expected here. There is a Disposition in many to anticipate some Strong Measure on our part, but not War; and it is taken for granted that G. B. will not seek a War if we sh^d stop short of actual Hostility.

The Letters in the Morning Chronicle (from A. B. to the Editor) which I have sent you as they have appeared, are from the Pen of one of the ablest and warmest of our Friends in England.—They are not without great Errors; but they speak with considerable Exactness the Sense of his party, the most favorable of any in this Country to the U. S.

I had the Honor to send by the Othello some parcels of newspapers & pamphlets.—Those which are received by the Legation here from the U. S. arrive very seldom & very late.—

The President's Message was received here yesterday, & has been published in all the Prints of this Morning.

[The following letter is published in Henry Wheaton, *Some Account of the Life, Writings, and Speeches of William Pinckney* (New York, 1826), pp. 75-78. However, Wheaton deleted the first two paragraphs of the original.]

Private

To Mr. Madison

London. Dec. 31, 1807

Dear Sir.

I have the pleasure to send you, at the same Time with this Letter, a packet of Newspapers, a Duplicate of an Exposition lately published here of the orders of council, the 2^d part of a flimsy publication on the maritime Rights of G. B., and my public Dispatch of the 29th Instant.

In my Letter of the 23rd of last month (of which a Triplicate is enclosed in the Dispatch above mentioned) there was a slight Error, arising from extreme Haste, in the paragraph which relates to the Construction of the 5th article of the French Decree considered as a municipal Rule.—The Error is corrected in the Triplicate by the omission of the Words "while without it no office can be assigned to the 7th & 8th"

Accounts from America begin to be regarded here with great Interest, & to be remarked upon in rather an altered Tone.—I confess that I expect them myself with peculiar anxiety although without a particle of Doubt.—The attitude which our Govt is now to take will fix our Destiny forever; and my Trust is strong & confident that both will be worthy of the high Name of our Country.—

In my public Letters I have ventured to intimate my opinions as to the conduct which the crisis demands from us,—You will excuse me, I am sure, if in a private Letter I speak with more Freedom.—

It will, I sincerely hope, be the solemn Conviction of every Man in America (as it is mine) that it has become impossible, without the entire loss of our Honor & the Sacrifice of every thing which it is our Duty to

protect, to submit in the smallest Degree to that extravagant System of maritime Oppression (proceeding more from Jealousy of our rising Greatness than from the Motives actually avowed) by which G. B. every Day exemplifies in various Modes the favorite Doctrine of her infatuated advisors, that Power & rightful Dominion are equivalent Terms.

No Man can deprecate War upon light & frivolous Grounds more than I should do.—But if War arises out of our Resistance to this pernicious career of arrogance & selfishness, which while it threatens our best Interests with Ruin, is even more insulting than it is injurious & more humiliating than it is destructive, can it be doubted that our Course is a just one, or that we shall be able & willing to maintain it as a great & gallant nation ought to do?

I have read (not without Indignation) in American Newspapers & pamphlets, that we are too feeble to assert our Honor against the Power of G. B., or to defend ourselves against her Encroachments.—This Slander is not believed by those who publish it; but if it were true, instead of being unnecessarily false, there are Bounds to Submission, beyond which even the feeble can submit no longer.—Our Gov^t has shown a laudable Solicitude for Peace with all the World, and has acted wisely in its Efforts to preserve it—But the Time has arrived when it seems to be certain that we must either yield up all that we prize, of Reputation, of Fortune, & of Power, to the naval Despotism of this Country, or meet it with Spirit & Resolution; if not by War; at least by some act of a strong & decisive character.—

The argument against Resistance to British aggressions, founded upon supposed Danger from France if G. B. sh^d be greatly weakened by that Resistance, proves too much, & is otherwise false in Fact & in Reasoning.

Without being blind to the enormous Power and other dangerous Attributes of the French Government, I am persuaded that we have little to fear from France; and that it is practicable (as it is most emphatically our Interest) to be at Peace, without identifying ourselves with her.—It may be admitted, however, that France is a Subject of Apprehension to America as well as to Europe; but are we on that account to suffer with Patience every Wrong which G. Britain, stimulated by the Jealousy of her Merchants, or the Avarice of her Navy, or the Pride of Conscious Power chooses to inflict upon us?—Such a State of abject Slavery to our Fears—such a tame Surrender of our Rights as the Price of British *Protection* against possible & contingent Peril, would be a thousand Times more degrading than if we were now, in the Maturity of our years, to return openly to the Dependence of our colonial Infancy upon the Guardianship of the Parent Country.—If we once listen to this base & pusillanimous suggestion, we have passed under the Yoke, and are no longer a nation of Freemen; we shall not only be despised & trampled upon by all the World, but what is of infinitely more Importance, we shall despise ourselves.—France will justly become our irreconcilable Enemy, and G. B. will only be encouraged & enabled to stab to the Heart the Prosperity which she envies and the Power which she begins to dread.

By a different Course—that which suits with the manly Character & the great Resources of the American People we shall show that we rely on ourselves for Protection—we shall maintain, with the Gallantry & Firmness which have heretofore characterized us, our station among the powers of the Earth—We shall check, while there is yet Time, the Usurpations of G. B. without destroying her salutary strength—we shall diminish our Dependence upon Europe by learning to supply our own wants—and, while we give no Cause of present Hostility to France, we shall increase, by the necessary organization & Development or our means of Defence, our Security from Molestation from that & every other Quarter.

The Picture lately drawn, by some American Politicians, of the Sufferings which a War with G. B. is to bring upon us, is such gross & ridiculous exaggeration, that it can hardly deceive even the thoughtless or the timid.—Great Britain will herself feel the tremendous Effects of such a Contest, and, I venture to prophecy, will soon seek to end it; but her late Orders of Council will injure us in Peace, as much as she can ever hope to injure us by War.—

I will not pursue this Subject farther lest I should seem to compose a Speech instead of writing a Letter.—

I have acknowledged, in a P. S. to my letter of the 29th the Receipt of your Letter to Mr. Monroe of the 21st of October.—I had read in the English Newspapers, before Mr. Monroe's Departure, of the Trial & Execution of Radford, & of the Trial of the other three Seamen, but not of their punishment.—I do not know whether Mr. Rose's Instructions will enable him to offer any suitable atonement for this consummation of Berkley's Guilt.¹²—The principle Facts were known before the Statira sailed, and were perhaps suggested by Mr. Monroe to this Gov^t as calculated to influence the Nature & Extent of the Reparation.—At any Rate it will not now be proper that I sh^d move in this affair without farther Instructions.—

The opposition in the approaching Session of parliament will be extremely active, particularly in the House of Lords where the late Ministers have more Ability than in the commons.—The Field is ample & the Topics interesting.—The Emigration of the Royal Family of Portugal has caused much idle Exultation here; but the sober Estimate now made of the advantages to G. B. from that Event is not quite so brilliant as the earlier Calculations.—

It is whispered that the late Schism in the cabinet took its Rise in a Wish to bring L^d Grenville into Power.—He could not return while the Catholic Question remained as he left it, & hence an attempt (by Mr. C as it is said) to prevail upon the King to relax upon that Point. The King was inflexible & the affair has dropped.¹³

¹² Seaman removed from the *Chesapeake* by the *Leopard* by order of Berkeley, then commandant at Halifax, June 22, 1807. Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.

¹³ Grenville desired the features of the Irish Act concerning the position of Roman Catholics in the British army to be extended to English and Scottish Catholic elements. J. Steven Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-42.

Mr. Rose (the Envoy) is the author of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons relative to the W. Indies, which I sent you last Summer!—Mr. Perceval¹⁴ & L^d Hawksbury¹⁵ are the reputed Authors of the new blockading plan.—I should suspect Mr. G. Rose (the elder)¹⁶ of a great share in it.—

I do not enclose copies of my private Letters of the 3rd, 7th, 10th & 21st of this Month, as they were principally valuable on account of their Enclosures.—

American vessels continue to come in under warning—and their voyages are consequently broken up.—The French Gov^t is said to have issued a new Decree (dated at Milan Nov^r 25th) under which the Decree of Nov. 1806 will be executed according to its Letter.—I have not seen this Decree, altho it is in England; but it will probably be published in the Courier of tonight, which I will enclose.—The French Decree of the 13th of Nov. (dated at Fontainebleau) you will see in the papers herewith forwarded.—I beg your pardon this long & hasty Letter.—

[The following letter is published in Rev. William Pinkney, *The Life of William Pinkney* (New York, 1853), pp. 212-16. But, Pinkney deleted six paragraphs of the original and made spelling and punctuation changes throughout the body of the letter without informing the reader.]

Private

To Mr. Madison

London, Sept. 7, 1808

D Sir.

As Mr. Bethune leaves Town in a few Hours, I have only Time to write a short private Letter in addition to my public one of yesterday.

Mr. Atwater¹⁷ delivered your private Letter of the 21 of July & a Duplicate of that of the 15th and I received by Mr. Nicolson on the 24th of last month your private letters of the 3rd and 15th of July.—

I cannot subdue my opinion that the overture on the subject of the orders in Council will be either rejected or evaded.—What Infatuation, if it should be so!—

That the Embargo pinches here is certain. There is undoubtedly Room for alarm on the Score of Provisions (Corn & Flour); and it is confessed that they feel severely the want of our Trade.—The Effect however is less than it ought to have been on account of the numerous Evasions of the Embargo & and Belief (encouraged in America) that we had not Virtue to persist in it. If it be continued it must be rigorously executed, & our vessels in Europe recalled.

¹⁴ Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, member of Portland Ministry. DNB, XV, 821-27.

¹⁵ Lord Hawkesbury, Foreign Secretary, 1801-4, Home Secretary in Portland Ministry, 1807. J. Steven Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

¹⁶ George Rose, President of the Board of Trade in Portland's Ministry. DNB, XVII, 226-30.

¹⁷ Atwater carried dispatches from Madison to Pinkney, July, 1808. *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 22, 1808, p. 3.

I send you Marriott's Book entitled "Hints to both parties"—Towards the End you will find a pretty open avowal that even if France sh^d retract her Decrees G. B. ought to hold on upon the Substance of her orders, making them only more *palatable* to us in some of their subordinate provisions.—This Gentleman is a W. India merchant & Member of parliament; & was consulted by Ministers when the orders of Nov. were in contemplation.

It is still believed here that the late Events in Spain & Portugal, connected with the British Explanations (already forwarded in my private Letter of the 17th of August & now again transmitted) relative to a direct trade between the U. S. & those Countries will have an irresistible Effect upon our Embargo. They are so misled in this Country as to suppose that the Embargo has already reproduced very formidable Discontent in America, & I am mistaken if the Gov^t has not been inclined to calculate upon that Discontent in various ways, & at least *to give it a Trial*. But at any Rate the Spanish & Portuguese Trade will it is imagined be too great a Temptation to be withstood.—I know not what we may think of this Temptation in America, but it will be well to reflect that, if we trade under the British orders & go to War with France (as this Speculation supposes) while the B. orders continue, we not only retreat from the honorable Ground we have taken & admit the Right of G. B. to act at all Times upon her new Sytem, to the utter Extinction of our Commerce, but deliver ourselves up to her mercy in all Respects. What w^d be her course in that Event I know not; but is there any Reason to believe it w^d be generous or even just?—We should, I incline to think be in Danger of falling into a Dependence upon this country fatal to our character, to our Institutions, to our Navigation, to our Strength and what could we hope to gain?—I profess I am not able to imagine.—

Since the change in Spain & Portugal this nation is not exactly what it was, and it may be presumed that the Gov^t partakes of the universal Exaltation.—Their Dreams of future Prosperity are bright and romantic.—A *Chateau en Espagne* has become quite common.—I have heard it suggested (as a Course of *Reasoning* not unusual here among Merchants & others) that South America, whether dependent or independent must be thrown commercially into the arms of G. B., that, encouraged to Exertion & roused to activity by a new order of Things, she will hereafter rival us in all the great agricultural productions of our Country—that under a System friendly to the Development of their Resources, our Southern Neighbours will even surpass us as Cultivators—that G. B. will thus become wholly independent of the U. S. for articles which she has heretofore been obliged to take from them, & in a great Degree too, for the consumption of her Manufactures—that in other views our Importance will be greatly diminished, if not absolutely annihilated, by this new Competition—that this Result, almost inevitable in any View, is more especially to be counted upon if G. B. compelled by the Policy of our Gov^t or following the Impulse of the Jealousy which is imputed to her, sh^d foster by her Capital & her Trade to the full Extent of her Capacity,

the prosperity of the South, in Contradiction to that of the North—that the change in Spain is *otherwise* likely to enable G. B. to hold towards the U. S. a higher Tone than formerly—that the Spanish Deputies here (I doubt this Fact) & those who are in the new Spanish Interest (this I believe true) begin to talk already of our Louisiana Purchase as unfit to be submitted to—that regenerated Spain will certainly question the validity of the Cession that preceded our purchase & reclaim the Territory alienated by it—that this and other Causes of Disatisfaction (aided by the Sentiment of Gratitude & the Considerations of Interest which bind the Spaniards to G. B.) may be easily fomented into a quarrel with the U. S. of which the Consequences (G. B. being a party also) may be most destructive.

These Rhapsodies (which may, however, be worthy of some attention) show how Enthusiasm & Prejudice can calculate!—Spain, assailed by the whole Power of France, has already Leisure for an American Quarrel, & can even spare Troops to recover a superfluous Territory on the Mississippi!—The inveterate Habits & pursuits of a whole People, in another Hemisphere, are, against the Repulsion of still existing Causes, to pass to opposite Extremes in Consequence of a Revolution in Europe yet in its earliest Infancy & of which the transatlantic Effect (even if in Europe the Revolution were established) wd be a Problem!—Great Britain, with a vast Encrease of Debt, is to find her account in casting from her our Market for her Manufactures, in rejecting our Commodities essential to her Colonies & convenient to herself, for the purpose of patronizing a Country, on the permanency of whose Connection she cannot rely, many of whose productions come in competition with those of her own colonies, and in which the Passage from the actual state of Things to that which is contemplated must be reluctant & slow, & liable to endless Interruptions & Relapses!—

It is forgotten, too, that this interesting Section of the Globe, during all this tedious & doubtful Process, may & must contribute to nourish our growth, while it can scarcely rival us in anything!—It is forgotten that, if it continues to lean upon the Parent State, it is not likely under the Pressure of Colonial Restrictions to flourish to our Prejudice or never to flourish at all, but may serve to strengthen & enrich us; and that, if it becomes independent, after our Example, it will be far more natural that we sh^d benefit & reflect Luster & Power upon each other than that G. B. sh^d find in the South the means of humbling the other Branches of the great Family of the West.

From the Newspapers it wd seem that France & Austria are on the Eve of War.—Yet I have been told that it is not so. It is I believe certain that France has changed her Tone (from Haughtiness & Menace to Conciliation) towards Austria, since the Discomfitures in Spain.—This is not conclusive Proof, however.—

The Report that Lucien Buonaparte has requested of a British Minister a Passport to go to America is, I understand from a very respectable Quarter, true.

Yrujo [?] is still here—not respected by the members of this Govt—

more perhaps because is suspected of disliking the Cause of the Patriots then for any other Reason.—

I send the Ed. Review by this opp'y & a parcel of newspapers including the Morning Chronicle of today.—

The Box of Books for the Department of State did not arrive at Falmouth in Time to go by the St Michael—but Mr. Fox sent it by the Flora Anderson, which sailed from Falmouth on the 23rd of August for N. York.—

I enclose a Triplicate of my public Letter of the 4th of August, in which (having undertaken to copy it myself) I have not been able to refrain from making a few slight alterations, which, if you see no objection, I wish to be adopted.—They are in Language merely.—The Lines in which they are made will be found indicated by a Pencil mark (a Cross) in the Margin.

The Result of our Elections will now soon be known.—I trust they will be favourable to the measures of our Gov^t—I need not say how sincerely & anxiously I wish that, with reference to yourself personally, they may give you all the Honour which Suffrages of our people can bestow.—

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams. Edited by LESTER J. CAPPON. Two volumes paged continuously, vol. I, 1777-1804 (pp. li, 282); vol. II, 1812-1826 (pp. viii, 283-638). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1959; \$12.50 the set.

A few times we have had presidents who in their years of retirement have appreciated a contemporary successor or predecessor in office, and have been gifted to say so with thoughtful effect. Mr. Hoover has recently done this in his book on Woodrow Wilson. Yet the best approach to reading this magnificent complete collection of the *Adams-Jefferson Letters* is to inquire what other pair of ex-presidents might have conducted (or might yet conduct) a correspondence of similar depth. A long period of affection for each other is part of the magic; another part, to speak in the necessary shorthand, is the mind and spirit of the age.

To assemble all the letters from the three writers—and Abigail Adams's share in the exchange of letters cannot be called minor, for it illuminates as well as adds to the rest—proved to be an exacting job. Fortunately we can dismiss the natural suspicion that the present edition, coming out at the very time when the multi-volume collections of the Jefferson papers and the Adams papers are in process of appearing, might be unnecessary now. Here in two short volumes is a window into the heart of the young republic, something that no other access is likely ever to displace. Among the many excellences of Dr. Cappon's editing is his selection from the letters themselves of gem-like phrases to serve as chapter headings. To choose one from each writer: "As We are poor We ought to be Economists," John Adams; "Faithfull are the Wounds of a Friend," Abigail Adams; "I suppose beliefs to be the assent of the mind to an intelligible proposition," Thomas Jefferson. Especially the later letters are punctuated with sentences which gather, and illuminate, previous thought.

Here and there a stiffness appears, as in Mrs. Adam's letters of 1804 when the severance between the two men had occurred, and between themselves during the preliminaries of their reconciliation eight years later. When the traffic was easy, a charming persiflage, or an equally charming concern for each other's domestic affairs, between Mrs. Adams and Mr. Jefferson sometimes set the pace. Yet from early to late, from the consulting letters Adams and Jefferson wrote when they were fellow diplomats during the 1780's to the period of their most philosophical and

scholarly correspondence three decades later, there is nowhere more than a moment's break—at any time when they were corresponding at all—from an entirely serious tone. These were two men and a woman to whom the American union meant much of their lives and their hopes. Yet it did not mean all: they were nationalists, but not ultimately that. They had goals and standards of life, and ethics and a sense of history, according to which all else achieved or failed of meaning. Their letters suggest over and over that the hopes they cherished for mankind were what meant most, and what supplied the root of their attachment.

The letters here gathered in series of course do not eliminate a reader's sense of the differences between the two statesmen. When, during the 1780's, their business was to negotiate treaties of commerce, Jefferson found occasion to voice his hope for ultimate free trade, and Adams argued and reargued that each new American state must pass its own navigation act. Yet their minds met essentially and easily about what they needed at the moment to insist on together. Later in the retrospective years, when they chose to discuss religion, Adams, though he was deeply read in theology and may fairly be called a latter-day Puritan, quite equalled Jefferson in taking an anti-clerical position and an anti-traditional one about Christianity. Though one does not learn here that Jefferson trusted the people less than is usually said, or that Adams trusted them more, their long letters about the value of a natural aristocracy in the body politic shows much more agreement as to social philosophy than is often allowed.

For citizens who now, a century and a half after these noble presidents were corresponding at philosophical prime, think that such matters are still important, these two volumes will long serve as a rich and a precious mine.

CHARLES A. BARKER

The Johns Hopkins University

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Edited by LEONARD W. LABAREE. Associate Editor, Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. Assistant editors, Helen C. Boatfield and Helene H. Fineman. New Haven: Yale University Press. Volume I (6 January 1706–31 December 1734), 1959, lxxxviii, 400. \$7.50. Volume II (1 January 1735–31 December 1744), 1960, xxvi, 471. \$10.00.

"Read much, but not many Books," counseled Benjamin "Poor Richard" Franklin one February day in 1738. The advice should give pause to anyone aware of the fact that this stupendous publishing project—jointly sponsored by Yale, the American Philosophical Society, and *Life*—will run to forty volumes. But the following October "Poor Richard" also counseled, "Reading makes the full Man." So take your choice, serene in the knowledge that, if you are a serious student of history, you

may look forward to a series virtually guaranteed to cover every significant aspect of American life for almost the whole of Franklin's career (1706-1790). If you are just the general reader fond of good literature, you face a glittering variety of topics to dip into for anywhere from five minutes to two hours.

Here is Franklin the religious disputater, the postmaster, the inventor. Here is Franklin the humanitarian, refusing to take out a patent on his internationally successful Pennsylvania Fireplace (II, 419). Here is Franklin the author of dialect humor, as early as 1744 (II, 499). Or Franklin the "typical American" in, say, his satirizing of preachers and lawyers, Philadelphia or otherwise, and in his earnest endeavor to establish a coat of arms. Or editor Franklin as Miss Lonelyhearts (I, 270):

I am Courting a Girl I have had but little Acquaintance with; how shall I come to a Knowledge of her Fawlt? and whether she has the Virtues I imagine she has?

Answer. Commend her among her Female Acquaintance.

Franklin as journalist constitutes a book in itself. Did his *The Drinker's Dictionary* (1736) suggest *The Devil's Dictionary* (1911) to Ambrose Bierce? Certainly his assaults on the question of the demise of himself and/or his competitor, Titan Leeds, in the droll prefaces to *Poor Richard's Almanack*, look forward to the episode of Mark Twain's "death." At the other end of the emotional scale his obituary in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (1736) on his son, Francis, anticipates William Allen White's in the *Emporia Gazette* (1921) on his daughter Mary, with this noteworthy difference: where White was merely interested in eulogizing a beloved child, Franklin was interested in assuring the public that this mortality had *not* resulted from inoculation, a health measure he was advocating.

In comparison with its distinguished predecessor, the *New York Times*' and Princeton University's *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, the Franklin undertaking would seem, on the witness of these first two volumes, to present more points of advantage than disadvantage. The disadvantages, which are not so much deficiencies as areas of editorial divergence, are mainly two-fold: in the Franklin, annotation is less extensive (and comes at the bottom of each page rather than at the end of the document); foreign-language quotations remain in the original without translation. The advantages are several: the Franklin volumes are easier to handle than the Jefferson, being a half inch shorter either way; they offer extensive family genealogies and charts; and—here is a clear gain—each carries a detailed index.

In these volumes also (the first boasts two full-color illustrations) we find Franklin the poetaster. As a composer of verse, which he became at age twelve, he exhibits a facile and tireless muse that hovers somewhere between the flights of Edgar Guest and J. Gordon Coogler. As a prose writer he is in several ways masterful. "You must abridge their Performances to understand them," he assured his *Gazette* readers of lawyers' briefs, "and when you find how little there is in a Writing of vast Bulk,

you will be as much surpriz'd as a Stranger at the opening of a *Pumpkin*." There will be a vast bulk to *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, but upon opening no squishiness will appear—only solid meat.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Baltimore, Md.

Benjamin Franklin and Polly Baker: The History of a Literary Deception.

By MAX HALL. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960. (Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). xi, 193. \$5.

Readers of *The Maryland Gazette* for August 11, 1747, were edified (or something) by an account of the problems of Miss Polly Baker. Mr. Green the printer had given his front page to her famous "courtroom speech" which already, only four months after its first appearance in the London *General Advertiser*, had spread from one newspaper to another like an AP dispatch on leased wire.

Miss Baker was appearing in court for the fifth time. On the other occasions she had been twice fined and twice sentenced to public whipping. Her offense (always the same) was bearing a bastard child—and Miss Baker thought the punishment out of all proportion to the crime. In fact, she said in eloquent conclusion, she ought to have a statue instead of any punishment at all; didn't her country need new people to fill it? (Polly was a New Englander, but *crescite et multiplicamini* was basic in all the colonies.) She had maintained her children by her own hard work, she said, not letting them become a charge upon the community; and, anyway, whose fault was it that they had been born outside wedlock? Not hers. She cited the manifest advantages of respectable matrimony.

And the happy ending was that next day, after her exoneration, one of the judges married her.

A likely story? Well, no; but possible. Even the fifteen lawfully subsequent children with whom some newspaper versions credited her were possible. But this whole book of Mr. Hall's is an exposition of his "hobby," which is proving to everybody's satisfaction that Polly Baker was not the mother of anyone but the brainchild of Benjamin Franklin, a newspaperman who liked to fill up space in an amusing and arresting way, delivering himself incidentally of some of the things he would have liked to say in his own character.

Miss Lillian de la Torre has set a high standard in the writing of historical detective-stories and Mr. Hall is far from up to it. But he is very good indeed. His book will be of interest to everyone who has ever been tempted to go up a nice little side-path—and that means everyone who has ever done research.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

Braddock's Defeat: The Journal of Captain Cholmley's Batman, The Journal of a British Officer, Halkett's Orderly Book. Edited from the Original Manuscripts, with an Introduction and Notes. By CHARLES HAMILTON. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. xxi, 134. \$3.95.

Acquisition by Mr. Charles Hamilton, dealer in manuscripts, of two hitherto unknown accounts of the Braddock Expedition are the occasion for this publication. Also published for the first time is Halkett's Orderly Book, from the Library of Congress, although this has long been known to scholars and it parallels the so-called Braddock Orderly Book, published in 1880. The editor makes the point that the first two are the best first-hand accounts of the battle, since others published in Sargent's *History of Braddock's Expedition* (1855) are either written after the event (Orme's Journal) or the writer was not present at the engagement. In fact, however, all accounts are devoted more to the campaign than to the actual battle or defeat, which of necessity must always be *post facto*. There is little added that can be called significant, and indeed it would require many more eyewitness records (if indeed they could be had), to establish the truth of what actually happened. Thus, what we have are some intimate details of that classic action. It is valuable to have these published in attractive form, carefully transcribed and annotated.

The actual editing of such historical documents, however, raises questions of policy and the extent of annotation. There is limited footnoting of the first two journals, save for the comparison of the lists of killed and wounded in the officer's journal with other lists. Since Halkett's Orderly Book duplicates much of the Braddock Orderly Book, the editing should properly note all variations. Yet while the editor diligently notices variants in the spelling of the parole word, he often fails to note where the Braddock Orderly Book is fuller or different from Halkett's. (e. g. from April 21 to 28 the former refers to camps at Frederick, whereas Halkett's was at Alexandria). A parallel publication of these two would have been of greater service.

Students of the American Indian may wince at the illustrations, nineteenth century cuts which smack of the dime novel (pp. 43, 89, 106 and 122), and the tepees and headdress of the Indians of the Great Plains (pp. 21, 64, 80). The explanation of "scalping and Mowhawking" (p. 50) as referring to the savagery of the Mohawks is a misreading, where the sense obviously is "tomahawking." A footnote might also have clarified the orderly book (p. 99): "Two Serjts Two Corpls: & 48 Men to Mount Guard Directly," where the Braddock Orderly Book indicates that the 48th Regiment was to take over the guard duty.

There is a good index, providing reference to many names, for which readers will be grateful.

MILTON W. HAMILTON

New York State Division of
Archives and History
Albany, N. Y.

George Washington and the French Revolution. By LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.
Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960. x, 378. \$7.

The French Revolution was exquisitely embarrassing to George Washington, as to all the other gentlemen who had believed in liberty enough to fight for her but not quite enough to countenance the crimes being currently committed in her name. Over in France, the people's bid for freedom was definitely out of hand. In America, thought and opinion about it were as disorganized. There was a certain small element that believed, cynically, that the end justified the means and that an omelette cannot be made without breaking eggs. There was another small element that was strictly horrified. But most Americans were ambivalent.

George Washington of all people was in the best position to judge the merits of the case. To him in his official capacity, and in his private capacity as the friend of Lafayette and other significantly placed Frenchmen, came constant reports. He evaluated them carefully. It was important not to be emotionalized, to look at the French upheaval in the light of what must be the United States' foreign policy. "From the beginning of the Revolution," says Doctor Sears, ". . . he had been intelligent, sympathetic, loyal and consistent in his attitude toward the French, little as some of them appreciated it." Obviously nothing short of all-out identification would have pleased some of his French detractors, but even they must have had a sneaking admiration for the way Washington stood like a rock, impassive and dignified as always.

He was not at any time prone to write letters which he had to ask the recipients to burn; when he did it was a revealing one. Doctor Sears disappoints this reader by not including a long and thoughtful discussion of the French Revolution which Washington sent to Light-Horse Harry Lee on May 6, 1793. Lee, an unadjusted veteran of the American Revolution who, after his young wife's death, had consulted Washington about the wisdom of going to France to fight, was one of the few human beings who got under Washington's guard; writing to him his sentiments were not "genuine but cautious," as Doctor Sears describes them in another connection. This is only one letter, however, and the other ninety and nine are certainly in the fold. Doctor Sears' research has been extensive and intelligent, his organization admirable—he should not apologize for his chronological approach—and his judgments sound. He is particularly good in his account of "the much inflated Citizen Genêt," whose pretensions tested our new diplomats and statesmen so severely.

In addition to his scholarly and interestingly written text, Doctor Sears has supplied excellent notes, a good index, and a Biographical Appendix which, for readers who are comfortable and hate to get up and down, is a great convenience.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

My Odyssey: Experiences of a Young Refugee from Two Revolutions, By A Creole of Saint Domingue. Translated and edited by ALTHEA DE PUECH PARHAM. Introduction by SELDEN RODMAN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xxvi, 205. \$4.95.

My Odyssey is the journal kept by a young refugee from the French Revolution and the revolt in Saint Domingue (Haiti) between 1791 and 1804. The journal appears to have been kept by a male member of Mrs. Parham's family, but she does not tell us his name, nor any additional biographical details about him. He was, however, born in Haiti and had been sent to school in France. At the time he commenced his journal, the author was about sixteen years of age. The outbreak of the French Revolution forced him to return to his home in Haiti. He arrived in time to witness the outbreak of the Haitian Revolt. He fled from his native land, came to the United States, and travelled extensively in this country for several years. He was finally able to return to his home. His journal contains an account of all these experiences together with his observations on the United States during the 1790's.

Prior to the publication of this journal, no eye-witness reports had existed about the early days of the revolt in Haiti by a participant. There had been, on the other hand, many accounts of the arrival of these unfortunate refugees in Baltimore in 1793. The account by "A Creole," consequently, is a major one and becomes an important source of information about the revolt and the experiences of those who suffered because of it.

The journalist has kept his chronicle well. He has, however, interspersed his diary with a great deal of poetry and frequent digressions. In spite of all of these, he has proven himself an able author. One may suspect, however, that the journal was written later than the actual events. Because the participant suffered so heavily because of the Revolution, he may be accused, and rightly so, of having distorted views about the events he has described. In addition, he can be charged with not being objective in his account. The reader will, therefore, have to exercise great caution when he uses this volume as a source.

Mr. Rodman has written an excellent introduction which contains a brief description of contemporary events in Haiti during the years of the revolt. This introduction places the journal in its proper historical perspective. The editor's translation of the work from its original French reads smoothly. However, the book has none of the other earmarks of a piece of scholarly writing. There is no index, nor are persons and places identified. Nevertheless, the journalist has told his story well. His account is a fascinating one which makes for enjoyable reading. His valuable comments upon American life and customs in the 1790's by a foreigner cause the book to become an important source for the social history of the United States during the 1790's.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland Hall of Records

The Maryland Postal History Catalog: Postal Markings of Maryland, 1766-1855. Edited by ROGER T. POWERS. Published by the Associated Stamp Clubs of the Chesapeake Area. Baltimore, 1960. iv, 100. \$5.

This elaborately illustrated book presents the first authoritative account of much of the early postal history of Maryland, including the names and dates of operation of all the early Maryland post offices existing after the adoption of the Constitution.

Although it is generally known that postage stamps are widely collected, few realize the existence of an active and growing group of collectors seeking to procure letters sent through the mail before the use of postage stamps; these letters ("covers" is the technical term), through postmarks and supplementary markings, are representative of early postal history. The period for such letters extends from Colonial times to the end of 1855, at which time stamps were officially required on all domestic correspondence.

The book was compiled and edited under the direction of a working committee selected by a large regional group of stamp clubs. Even a brief glance at the publication suggests that it is entitled to top ranking in comparison with previous publications of similar type on the postal markings of other states.

The section on postal markings is based on actual items owned by various collectors. The beautiful illustrations show in exact size each of the 260 known types of stamped postmarks from all of the 100 Maryland towns presently known to have used postmarks at some time during the 1766-1855 period. There are also illustrations in exact size of more than 300 different supplementary markings ("Paid," "Free," "Steamboat," etc.), 28 railroad markings, and 12 carrier and private post markings. These combined markings represent a complete picturization and description of all privately owned items known to the catalogers when this publication was sent to press. In each case the present comparative rarity and estimated range of retail value for each type of postmark are given, and some readers may be surprised to learn that the current estimated retail values of some of the Maryland items, particularly those with a national market, run to a hundred dollars or more.

This book also makes an outstanding contribution to Maryland history by the inclusion of a first-time listing (compiled by Dr. P. Edward Kaltenbach of Loyola College after many years of research in postal archives) of the names and period of operation of each office in Maryland from the adoption of the Constitution to December 31, 1855. Many of the more than 600 Maryland offices of this period had such a short or such an in-and-out history that more than 150 footnotes are required to insure proper coverage. Examples of the many intriguing names of early post offices listed are Allens Fresh, Battle Swamp, Beantown, Horse Head, Nine Bridges, Pig Point, Promised Land, Section Eight, and Tobacco Stick.

Also included are a chapter showing the changes in postal rates during the period covered and reprints of two interesting articles by Michael Miller, "Maryland Colonial Post" and "Ye Olde Post Road"; the

latter article includes the names of towns on the main route from Georgia through Maryland to the District of Maine, with the location of each town and the distance from each town to the next.

The very few errors in the book, mostly purely mechanical, are too unimportant to deserve mention outside of specialist circles.

Baltimore, Maryland

H. FINDLAY FRENCH

The Historian's Handbook: A Key to the Study and Writing of History.

By WOOD GRAY and others. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1959. vi, 58. \$1.

The Historian's Handbook is a small guide for the student who is being trained in the mysteries of historical methodology. The authors have endeavored to introduce their readers to the nature of history, the selection of a topic for research, how to pursue evidence, and finally how to prepare the scholarly paper. With such ambitious objectives, one wonders how the authors could cover all these topics in just a few pages, but they do succeed in doing just that. The book is, as the result, jam-packed with useful information.

This book has many admirable qualities which should recommend its use by schools and colleges. It is also of value to the person who wishes to undertake historical research and to write papers on historical subjects. However, the readers of this magazine will find it of little value. There are no books about Maryland listed in his source materials. One has to bear in mind the purposes for which the book was written and then to use it accordingly. Nevertheless, this is only petty criticism and is not meant to detract from the general excellence of the work. It is good to know that a small volume such as this can be secured. It will find a place as a general reference volume.

Maryland Hall of Records

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

The Piscataway Indians of Southern Maryland. By ALICE L. I. FERGUSON and HENRY G. FERGUSON. Accokeek, Maryland: The Accokeek Foundation, 1960. 46. \$1.

Again the Ferguson Foundation has published another much needed book about the Piscataway Indians. With the current interest in archaeology, perhaps owing to the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Carbon 14 dating, people are turning to their own area to locate archaeological and historical material. This book greatly helps those who are interested in Indians and history of this part of Maryland.

The illustrations, maps and photographs show material that has been located and found in Maryland.

The Piscataway history is carried on from the time of the first contact with Europeans to the final disappearance of the tribe, with particular attention to their relation to the early settlers and other tribes.

A more detailed and technical paper on the prehistory of the area is eagerly awaited.

Baltimore, Md.

FREDERIC MATTHEW STINER

NOTES AND QUERIES

COVER PICTURE

This is one of several views made by Latrobe of the upper Chesapeake area. In 1803 he had been appointed a commissioner of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company by Governor Thomas McKean of Pennsylvania. First asked to make a survey for the Canal, he was soon appointed chief engineer, with full control of design and construction. Frenchtown was selected as the western terminus of the Canal but work was slowed by lack of funds and altogether ceased in 1805. The view, measuring 4 by 8 inches, is one of more than 300 watercolors and drawings of B. H. Latrobe recently acquired by the Society together with many of his journals and letterbooks.

Historic Annapolis, Inc. has announced the appointment of Mr. Lloyd A. Brown, well known historian and writer, to the position of Director of Research provided for under the terms of the Grant of \$54,000.00 from the Old Dominion Foundation made to H. A. Inc. for the purpose of developing plans and supporting research for a proposed restoration of the historic waterfront of the Maryland Capital City. Mr. Brown, formerly Librarian of the Peabody Institute, assumed his duties on November 1st.

Darcy—Has anyone ever investigated the possibility that the ancestral Maryland home of the Dorseys, "Hockley-in-the-Hole," might be named for that particular section of London bearing the same name and mentioned in Boswell's *Life of Johnson* and Dickens' *Oliver Twist*? If the Dorsey home had been named for this part of London, might this not be a clue to the origin of Edward Darcy, the boatwright?

MARIE EVELYN BIERAU

8417 Flower Ave.-Apt. 3; Takoma Park 12, Md.

American Association for State and Local History—Clement M. Silvestro, director of the American Association for State and Local History, Madison, Wisconsin, has announced that the Association will award \$1,000 each year to the author of the unpublished manuscript in local history that makes the most distinguished contribution to United States or Canadian historiography. The first award will be made in the spring of 1961. In addition to the \$1,000 prize, the Association has established a grant-in-aid program for significant *research* projects in local history. Both programs will be administered by the new Research and Publication Committee of the Association.

Clifford L. Lord, professor of history and dean of the school of general studies at Columbia University, is chairman of the Research and Publication Committee.

1st Armored Division—The units of the 1st Armored Division, Combat Command "A," Fort Hood, Texas, are endeavoring to reconstruct their unit museums and trophy rooms. Due to the dismantling of such rooms at the time of World War II, the packing and putting into storage of the unit possessions at that time, and the subsequent reorganization of the units after World War II, it is believed that not all trophies, historical items, and other materials of collector value which may be available have been found or recovered.

Since such items are of great value to the *esprit-de-corps* of a unit, inculcate in the soldier a love for and belief in his unit, we greatly desire to augment our mementoes of this type. Undoubtedly, in dens, attics, footlockers, trunks, bookcases, etc., there are historical items, interesting mementoes, actual trophies, etc., either directly or indirectly concerned with the history, activities, operations, or periods of history of the units of the 1st Armored Division. Photographs, diaries or journals of the units, and plaques are valued.

We would greatly appreciate any outright donations, for suitable display, appropriately labelled, in our unit trophy rooms. Since we have no funds for such additions, it would be magnanimous of individuals to send us such items at their expense in the interest of the active army. They would be treasured by the units so honored and would serve to link our present-day soldiers with their predecessors.

The following units are mainly involved:

6th Infantry	Activated 11 Jan. 1812
1st Cavalry	Activated 3 March 1833
6th Artillery	Activated 29 May 1898
12th Cavalry	Activated 2 Feb. 1901
13th Cavalry	Activated 1 May 1901
73d Artillery	Activated 12 Oct. 1918
1st Armored Division	Activated 15 July 1940
1st Armored Div. CC "A"	Activated 1 March 1942

From the above dates, it can readily be determined the periods of uniforms and accouterments of interest, the dates of photographs and diaries covering the units histories, the campaigns and wars in which the unit has been engaged.

BRIG. GEN. ROLAND H. DEL MAR;
Headquarters Combat Command "A"
1st Armored Division, Fort Hood, Texas

Amelia Dyer—Married Alexander Johnson, and their daughter married Dr. Queen of Charles County, Md. about 1855. Information is requested about the parentage of Amelia Dyer and Alexander Johnson; also the ancestry of Dr. (William?) Queen.

RICHARD D. MUDD, M. D.
1001 Hoyt Street; Saginaw, Michigan

Rhodes—I would appreciate any information pertaining to the parents of Mothers Mary and Ann Rhodes, foundresses of the Sisters of Loretta; daughters of Abraham Rhodes (will filed in Hall of Records, Annapolis), and his wife Elizabeth. I would like to know Elizabeth Rhodes' family name. Send replies to:

SISTER M. MATILDA BARRETT, S. L.
Merinx, Kentucky

Methodist History—A committee of the Association of Methodist Theological Schools is assembling information on autograph letters, journals, etc., of leaders of the early and middle periods of Methodist history in America. This is being gathered in order to have the materials micro-filmed and thus made widely available. A beginning is being made with nine worthies:

1, Jesse Lee; 2, Orange Scott; 3, Ezekiel Cooper. Information on these should go to Dr. R. M. Cameron, P. O. Box 166, Concord, Mass.

4, Frederick Stier; 5, Nicholas Snethen; 6, John Emory. Material on these is the special responsibility of Dr. Douglas R. Chandler, Wesley Theological Seminary, 4400 Massachusetts Ave., N. W. Washington 16. D. C.

7, Wililam McKendree; 8, William Capers; 9, Joshua Soule. Material on these should go to Professor James W. May, Candler School of Theology, Emory University, Atlanta 22, Georgia.

News of the location of any material as above described will be warmly appreciated by the members of the Committee.

RICHARD M. CAMERON, Professor
Boston University School of Theology

The Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, Inc. has been organized in Baltimore with Mr. Hugo Dalsheimer as President. The Society is occupying quarters at 5800 Parks Heights Avenue where suitable materials are being gathered under the curatorship of Dr. Isaac M. Fein. The other officers are: Dr. Harry Bard, Vice President, Mr. Isaac Hamburger, Vice President; Dr. Alvin Thalheimer, Treasurer, and Dr. Louis L. Kaplan, Secretary.

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES W. FOSTER is Director of the Maryland Historical Society. He was editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and general editor of *Studies in Maryland History*. He is author of many studies in the history of the State, among which are *Fielding Lucas, Jr., Early 19th Century Publisher* (1956), and *The Lords Baltimore. Contemporary Portraits of the Founder and the Five Proprietaries* (1942) currently being reprinted.

His article "George Calvert: His Yorkshire Boyhood" represents a major contribution to the field of early American history. There is but scanty information on the early life of the founder. The published article is part of a projected book on the life of George Calvert, the research for which has filled nearly twenty years of work in England, France and America, notwithstanding the several additional duties of the author.

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